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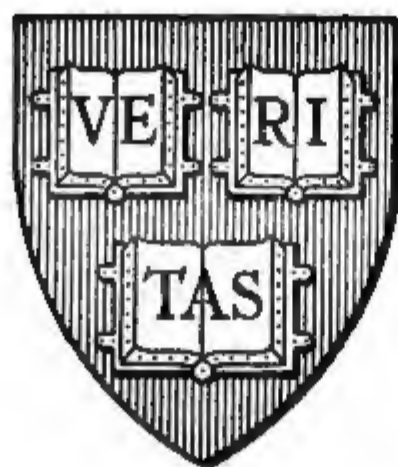
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ANDREAS  
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THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

*TWO ANGLO-SAXON NARRATIVE POEMS*

EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

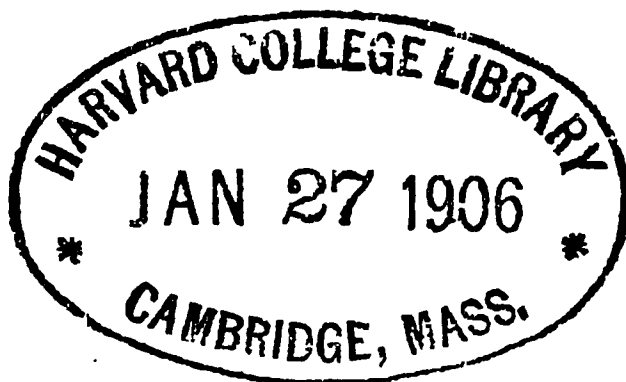
BY  
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TO  
JAMES WILSON BRIGHT  
SCHOLAR AND GUIDE OF SCHOLARS  
THIS VOLUME  
IS  
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED



## PREFACE

Although editions of the text of *Andreas* have been made from time to time, no comprehensive treatment of the poem on its various sides of interest has appeared since Grimm published his *Andreas und Elene* in 1840. In the meantime our knowledge of the language and the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period has not remained stationary, and a new endeavor to present the poem in its proper linguistic and historical setting needs no apology. *The Fates of the Apostles* is here edited for the first time in its entirety and with explanatory comment.

The text of both poems is based upon Wülker's *Codex Vercellensis*, a photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. This volume is referred to in the textual notes as MS. Where the readings of the reproduction are uncertain, which happens but rarely, recourse has been had to the *Bibliothek* and to Napier's collation of the text of the *Bibliothek* with the manuscript. Readings derived from either of the two latter sources are always specifically indicated. In the Text all departures from the manuscript readings which originate with the present editor are printed in italics; readings suggested by earlier editors or commentators which are incorporated into the text are printed in Roman type. Additions of a complete word or of several words are enclosed within square brackets.

With the exception of a few of the commoner forms of the pronoun, the article, and the conjunctions, the Glossary is intended to be a complete verbal and grammatical index to both poems. No space has been given, in the Introduction, to a formal discussion of grammar or metre. What little of special importance there was to say about these subjects has been said in the Notes.

The editor regrets that the results of his chapter on authorship, in the Introduction, could not be more conclusive than they are. In the end, however, the chief gain in such discussions consists in determining the differences and similarities of various works, not in tagging each with an author's name. The present discussion will have attained its end if it carry back the question of the authorship of *Andreas* to a

sounder if less dogmatic position than that to which much recent theorizing has been hurrying it. To some it would seem a simple solution of the matter to combine *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* into a single poem, and to assign this poem to Cynewulf; but reasons why this disposition of the two poems cannot be permitted will be found fully discussed in the Introduction. The importance, however, of *The Fates of the Apostles* in the discussion of the authorship of *Andreas*, as well as the general similarity of the poems in subject matter, rendered it advisable that they should be treated together.

To the various friends who by counsel and encouragement have assisted the editor in the preparation of this volume grateful acknowledgments are made, especially to Professor Hart for surrendering the *Andreas* into less skilful and experienced hands than his own after he had made considerable collections towards an edition of the poem; to Dr. Alma Blount for the use of her thorough and scholarly study of the language and vocabulary of *Andreas*; and to Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., for his comments on some troublesome passages of the text. Above all, however, the editor is indebted to Professors Bright and Kittredge, the general editors of the series. Whenever it was possible to do so, specific acknowledgment has been made of this indebtedness, but in most instances the editor has been compelled to profit by their generosity in silence.

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October, 1905

G. P. K.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS

The poems *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are both contained in the *Vercelli Book* or *Codex Vercellensis*. This famous volume is preserved in the cathedral library at Vercelli, in northern Italy, where it has probably rested for some six or seven centuries. Various attempts have been made to explain the appearance of this book, made up entirely of Anglo-Saxon texts, in so unexpected a place; and, as the most plausible of the theories brought forward derives much of its probability from the presence in the volume of a poem on St. Andrew, the discussion has here a special interest and importance.

The opinion of the Italian scholar Gazzera,<sup>1</sup> that the manuscript was brought to Vercelli by John Scotus Erigena, is untenable, since John Scotus died about the year 875, and the handwriting of the manuscript is indisputably above a century later. Equally unfounded is Earle's theory<sup>2</sup> that the manuscript was taken to Vercelli by Cyneweard, bishop of Wells. Cyneweard is mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the years 964 and 975. The entry for the latter year states that he "left Britain" (*of Brytene gewāt*). Although this phrase differs slightly from the common euphemistic form of expression for recording a death, it seems probable that this is its meaning, since no further mention of Cyneweard is made in the *Chronicle*.<sup>3</sup> Even though the phrase be taken literally, however, it offers no foundation for Earle's hypothesis that Cyneweard was the son of the poet Cynewulf, that he was himself a poet and the author of the poetical account of the battle of Brunanburh given in the *Chronicle* under the year 937, and that in the year 975 he

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia* V, 452.

<sup>2</sup> *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chronicle* (Parker MS.) 790, 794, 870 (cf. MS. D), and 961, and Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles* II, 163. Cf. also Klaeber, *MLN.* XX, 32, who calls attention to the amplifying phrase *burh gecyndne craft*.



left England, carrying with him a volume of his father's poetry which he left behind him in his journeyings at Vercelli.

Much more plausible is Wülker's theory,<sup>1</sup> based upon an oral tradition with which he became acquainted at the time of his visits to Vercelli (in 1881 and 1885), to the effect that there formerly existed at Vercelli a hospital for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to Rome.<sup>2</sup> At this hospital, Wülker thinks, a library of religious works may gradually have collected, and among them may have been the volume which we know as the *Vercelli Book*. Many Anglo-Saxons undoubtedly passed through Vercelli on their way to Rome. There is no reason to believe, however, that they established a library at Vercelli, and this explanation of the origin of the *Vercelli Book* is too uncircumstantial to merit more than a passing notice.

The most convincing theory of the history of the manuscript was first set forth in an unsigned contribution to the *Quarterly Review* for 1845.<sup>3</sup> The principal purpose of this article is the criticism of an essay by H. G. Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. In his discussion of the churches of Italy, Knight had called attention to the markedly English characteristics of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli.<sup>4</sup> It is in the endeavor to explain the presence of this English church in Italy that the reviewer brings forward his theory to account for the presence of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript at Vercelli. His words are as follows:—

If the traveller inquires who was the founder of this magnificent structure [the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli], he will hear a name which often occurs in the pages of Matthew Paris. It is that of the Legate, Cardinal Wala, or Guala, who appears as an influential statesman in English affairs during the eventful period of the last years of John and the accession of Henry III, when it seemed as if the crown of England might be transferred to a foreign dynasty.

Guala Bicchiere, born of a distinguished family, was raised to the purple by Innocent III, and despatched by him as legate to France in 1208. In

<sup>1</sup> First enounced in *Anglia* V, 454, note; stated again in *Grundriss*, p. 237, in *Cod. Ver.*, p. vi, and *Anglia* XII, 629.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition probably rests on the fact that a part of Guala's foundation at Vercelli was a hospital richly endowed with money obtained from Henry III of England. This hospital, founded in 1224, is still in existence. See Gesell Fels, *Ober-Italien*<sup>5</sup>, p. 702.

<sup>3</sup> LXXV, 398–399.

<sup>4</sup> See Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian*, pp. 295–304, for an interesting account of this church.

1215 the cardinal was again sent to France, when Innocent used his influence to dissuade Philip the Fair from attempting the conquest of England. For this purpose Guala crossed over with Louis, the better to oppose him. In England Guala strenuously supported John with all his influence, cursing the French prince and Stephen Langton with bell, book, and candle.

On the death of King John, Guala took an active part in the great council of Gloucester, and mainly assisted in establishing the claims of Henry III. The gratitude of the new monarch bestowed upon Guala much preferment, and amongst other benefices, the priory of *St. Andrew* at Chester. The object of his mission being successfully accomplished by the cessation of hostilities, Guala returned to his native city, where founding a Collegiate Church, he dedicated the new structure to St. Andrew, doubtless with reference to his English benefice. Guala employed as his architect a French ecclesiastic Thomas, who afterwards became the first abbot of the convent;<sup>1</sup> but the style is so truly English that it is impossible to doubt that the working drawings were brought from England. Upon this point the form of the choir is conclusive.

Guala, mixed as he must have been with various classes of society in England, had evidently acquired strong English feelings. He makes many bequests in his will in *sterlings*, of which he possessed so good store. Relics of English saints were bestowed by him upon his foundation; and a most curious and important collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, now in the Cathedral library in Vercelli — and of which the chief piece, the metrical legend of *St. Andrew*, is about to be published by Mr. Kemble — results without doubt from the collection which Guala had formed.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of Architecture* II, 199, says that the architect of the church was an Englishman, named Brigwithe, but I know no other authority for this statement. According to Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London, 1874, pp. 333-334, in the gable of the church "is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, below a figure kneeling before her, and said to represent the architect of the church, who died in 1246, being Abbat as well as architect." That the first abbot of the church was a Frenchman, named Thomas, we learn from Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 464. An interesting letter is preserved (Brewér, *Monumenta Franciscana* I, 206) from Adam Marsh (d. circa 1257) to his friend Thomas, abbot of St. Andrews at Vercelli, in which the great Oxford scholar urges upon the abbot the evils of non-residence. Thomas appears to have held a benefice in England, though no mention is made of any specific place. In Frova's life of Guala (p. 175), also, we learn that it was to Thomas as abbot that the possessions of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli were consigned at the death of Guala. A late and unfounded tradition is recorded in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, in the account of the life of Guala, to the effect that the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli was built after the plans of an English church at Winchester.

SISAM shows otherwise; MS. in Italy before Guala

This account of Guala as given by the reviewer was corrected in one particular by Pauli,<sup>1</sup> who pointed out that the benefice bestowed upon Guala was not the church of St. Andrew at Chester, but that of St. Andrew at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire. The evidence for this is contained in a document,<sup>2</sup> dated January 22 in the 22d year of Henry III (A.D. 1238), which confirms a grant made during the king's minority "de ecclesia de Cestreton, in diocesi Elyensi" to God and the church of Blessed Andrew of Vercelli at the instance of Cardinal Guala, then papal legate in England.<sup>3</sup>

Some further circumstantial evidence in support of the theory of the reviewer may be derived from several of the statements in Frova's life of Guala.<sup>4</sup> We learn from this source that Guala was a scholar, a lover

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, Hamburg, 1853, p. 512; also *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1866, p. 1412. See Cook, *MLN*. IV, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. Williams, Rolls Series, London, 1872, II, 344.

<sup>3</sup> The document is preserved in Bekynton in a copy dated October 20, 1420. The advowson of the church afterwards lapsed to Henry VI through the adhesion of the abbot and chapter of St. Andrews Vercellensis to the antipope, Felix V. In 1440 (see Bekynton, I, lxxix-lxxx; II, 346 ff.) it was assigned to King's Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards it fell to Trinity College, Cambridge (1546), which college succeeded to all the property of King's Hall (Bekynton, I, lxxx). The church remains at present in the possession of Trinity College; its annual income in the first half of the fifteenth century was variously estimated as eighty marks and as forty pounds; it now amounts to between six hundred and seven hundred pounds sterling (Bekynton, I, lxxxi). Britton and Brayley, *The Beauties of England* II, 113, mention Chesterton as a large village one mile north of Cambridge. The church is described as "ancient and spacious." St. Andrew appears to have been held in special respect in Cambridgeshire. Of the twenty-five churches within five miles of Cambridge, eight are consecrated in his name, Barnwell, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Grantchester, Histon, Impington, Oakington, and Stapleford. See *Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Cambridge Camden Society, 1845, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Gualae Bicherii, Presbyteri Cardinalis S. Martini in montibus, vita et gesta collecta a Philadelfo Libico* [pseud. of Giuseppe Frova], Mediolani, 1767. This volume has not been accessible to me. It was used, however, by the author of the brief biography in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, and by Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 1, iv, in the preparation of his longer account of Guala. Professor Cook, in "Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book," *University of California Library Bulletin*, No. 10, has given a very complete summary of those facts in the life of Guala which may have bearing on the history of the *Vercelli Book*. But Professor Cook knew Frova's life of Guala only through the medium of Tiraboschi. I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, for kindly

and collector of books. That some of his books were of English origin is evident from the fact that at least two of them were written in an English character.<sup>1</sup> One is described<sup>2</sup> as follows: "item bibliotheca de littera Anglicana qua D. Cardinalis utebatur in capella."<sup>3</sup> The second book is described<sup>4</sup> as "Omeliarium de Capella D. Cardinalis de bona littera Anglicana." It is interesting to observe that these two manuscripts in English script are distinguished from the rest as being more especially the personal property of Cardinal Guala. At his death in 1227, Guala bequeathed his rich collection of books to the church which he had founded at Vercelli.<sup>5</sup>

One naturally asks, however, what use Cardinal Guala could have for a manuscript written in a language which was hardly intelligible even to an Englishman of the thirteenth century. To this Professor Cook replies<sup>6</sup> that "Guala, like other strong natures of whom we are told, may have been somewhat superstitious, and have believed that his life was somehow under the influence of St. Andrew. Not only did he leave England on or about St. Andrew's Day [Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iii, 42], Pandulf arriving on the Monday following, but King John, while under Guala's protection as legate, won a victory over his rebellious barons at Rochester on the vigil of St. Andrew, perhaps assisted by the saint himself, the patron of that city, according to Higden (*Polych.* 7: 50)." Some such superstitious reverence would serve to account for

providing me with transcripts of those passages of Frova's life, particularly of the list of books which Guala bequeathed to his church at Vercelli, which are important for the present discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Only one is mentioned by Tiraboschi, IV, 124-125.

<sup>2</sup> Frova's life, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> The word *bibliotheca* is used here, as frequently in mediæval Latin (see Ducange, s.v.), with the meaning Bible. That the phrase *de littera Anglicana* means "in English characters," i.e. characters such as the English scribes used, not "in the English language," is evident from other occurrences of the phrase in Frova's list, e.g. *de littera Parisiensi*, *de littera Boloniensi*, *de littera antiqua*, etc. For other examples, see Ducange s.v. *littera*.

<sup>4</sup> Frova's life, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> A list of the books which he gave to St. Andrews is printed in Frova's life, pp. 175-178, from an inventory made at the time of Guala's death. The books are chiefly copies of various parts of the Bible, of the writings of Augustine, Gregory, and other fathers, decrees of various councils of the church, and similar works. On p. 176, however, a work of Bede's is listed: "Item Jeronimus contra Jovinianum et Beda super actus Apostolorum in uno volumine."

<sup>6</sup> l. c., pp. 7-8.

Guala's possession and preservation of an Anglo-Saxon volume containing a poem on St. Andrew.<sup>1</sup>

This evidence, circumstantial and indirect as it is, does not of course show conclusively that the *Vercelli Book* was brought to Italy by Cardinal Guala. It has, however, removed a great deal of the feeling of strangeness and unexpectedness at the presence of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in this remote Italian library. There can, indeed, be little doubt that, either directly or indirectly through his foundations at that place, Cardinal Guala is responsible for the long journey of the manuscript from its home in England to its present resting-place at Vercelli.

Like the *Exeter Book* the *Vercelli Book* is a miscellany. It differs, however, from the *Exeter Book*, which contains only poetry, in that it is made up of works in both prose and verse. The handwriting of the manuscript is that of the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> According to Wülker<sup>3</sup> at least two and possibly three different hands are to be distinguished in the writing of the manuscript. Napier,<sup>4</sup> however, sees only one handwriting in the volume. So far as one can judge from the photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the manuscript, the differences in handwriting are very slight and such as might occur in the writing of any scribe as his materials — parchment, ink, and pen — changed from time to time. Furthermore, in its mechanical details the book is made on a single plan, the same system of punctuation and sectional division being maintained throughout. There are indications, also, it is interesting to note, that the form in which the manuscript has come down to us is that in which it left the hands of its first compiler.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are indications that sympathetic relations existed between Vercelli and England in connection with a monastery school which grew up at St. Andrews. Englishmen are mentioned as being present at this school in 1228 (Tiraboschi, IV, 82–83). According to a credible tradition Adam Marsh himself was at one time a student in this school (Tiraboschi, IV, 464).

<sup>2</sup> Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii; see also Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 237–243, and *Anglia*, V, 451–465; Körting, *Grundriss z. Gesch. d. eng. Lit.*, p. 20. Grimm, p. xlv, dates the writing of the manuscript a century too early.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Ver.*, p. vii; *Grundriss*, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67.

<sup>5</sup> These indications are the following: Each signature of the volume is numbered by the scribe, in figures at the beginning of the signature and in letters of the alphabet at the end. In the case of several signatures where the numbering is omitted, the numbering of the following signatures indicates that they were counted in. On the first folio, which has been so much worn and injured that

The volume contains altogether 135 folios. From its appearance one might infer that occasional folios had been cut out; but, as Napier has remarked, the presence of a narrow strip of parchment between two folios is not always proof of the excision of a folio.<sup>1</sup> The writing is

very little of it is now decipherable, no number can be distinguished; but at the foot of fol. 9<sup>b</sup> is written the letter A, an indication that the first signature of the manuscript, as we have it, was the first signature of the volume as it was planned. According to Wülker (*Anglia* V, 454) only a few letters are legible on the first folio; on fol. 2<sup>a</sup>, however, the writing is quite plain, beginning in the middle of a sentence and the middle of a word. The first number, a prose sermon, extends to the bottom of fol. 9<sup>a</sup>; as this is somewhat longer than most of the prose works of the manuscript, and as the usual number of folios in a signature is eight or nine, we may suppose that the first folio of the volume as it now stands was its original opening folio. At the top, fol. 10<sup>a</sup> is numbered two; fol. 18<sup>b</sup>, bottom, is marked B. The third signature, C, comprises fol. 19<sup>a</sup>–24<sup>b</sup>; the fourth, D, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>–32<sup>b</sup>; the fifth, E, fol. 33<sup>a</sup>–40<sup>b</sup>; the sixth, F, fol. 41<sup>a</sup>–47<sup>b</sup>; the seventh, G, fol. 48<sup>a</sup>–55<sup>b</sup>; all these signatures are numbered on the first folio and lettered on the last. The eighth signature, which is neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 56<sup>a</sup>–63<sup>b</sup>. The ninth signature is numbered on fol. 64<sup>a</sup> and lettered I on fol. 71<sup>b</sup>; the tenth, K, comprises fol. 72<sup>a</sup>–79<sup>b</sup>. The eleventh signature is numbered on fol. 80<sup>a</sup>, but it is not lettered at the end. The twelfth signature is numbered on fol. 86<sup>a</sup> and lettered M on fol. 91<sup>b</sup>. The thirteenth signature, N, comprises fol. 92<sup>a</sup>–98<sup>b</sup>; the fourteenth, O, fol. 99<sup>a</sup>–104<sup>b</sup>; the fifteenth, P, fol. 105<sup>a</sup>–111<sup>b</sup>. The sixteenth signature, neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 112<sup>a</sup>–118<sup>b</sup>, as is proved by the numbering of the seventeenth signature on fol. 119<sup>a</sup>. The seventeenth signature, which is not lettered at the close, comprises only two folios, fol. 119<sup>a</sup>–120<sup>b</sup>; this short signature of only two leaves was made because the scribe needed only two leaves to finish a homily which closed one of the prose sections of the volume. On fol. 121<sup>a</sup>, which is numbered eighteen, begins the poem *Elene*; this signature is lettered S on fol. 128<sup>b</sup>, showing that two letters designating signatures sixteen and seventeen must be counted in in the reckoning. Signature nineteen, numbered on fol. 129<sup>a</sup>, extends, according to Wülker (*Grundriss*, p. 238), only to fol. 130<sup>b</sup>, without lettering; signature twenty, according to Wülker, consists of fol. 131<sup>a</sup>–134<sup>b</sup>, with neither numbering nor lettering; fol. 135, with which the manuscript ends, Wülker thinks is tacked on to the end of the last signature. But Napier (*Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67) has pointed out that Wülker is in error in his account of the manuscript from fol. 129<sup>a</sup> to the end. The nineteenth signature, according to Napier, comprises fol. 129<sup>a</sup>–135<sup>b</sup>; fol. 135 is not tacked on to the end of the signature but is the corresponding half of fol. 130. It is probable that one folio, the corresponding half of fol. 129, has been lost from this signature. This lost folio would make the nineteenth a signature of eight folios, which is the normal number in the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe may have used sheets of parchment not large enough to double so as to form two folios, and in order to get a purchase for sewing this single-sheet

plain and legible. In several places, however, notably on fol. 36<sup>b</sup>, 37<sup>b</sup>, 38<sup>a</sup>, 38<sup>b</sup>, 39<sup>a</sup>, 42<sup>b</sup>, and 54<sup>a</sup>, it has suffered injury, apparently from the application of some acid. The only passage which is thereby rendered completely illegible is that on fol. 54<sup>a</sup>. Since the handwriting of the manuscript is always very clear and distinct, there is no apparent reason why these occasional passages should have been treated with acids.

The prose pieces occupy 92 folios, the sections in verse 43 folios, of the volume. The following is a complete list of the contents of the manuscript : <sup>1</sup>

- (1) Prose sermon on the Passion, the Entombment, and the Descent into Hell, fol. 1<sup>a</sup>–9<sup>a</sup>.
- (2) Sermon on the Last Judgment, fol. 9<sup>b</sup>–12<sup>a</sup>.
- (3) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 12<sup>b</sup>–16<sup>a</sup>.
- (4) Sermon on the Last Judgment, including a dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 16<sup>b</sup>–24<sup>b</sup>.
- (5) Sermon on the birth of Christ, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>–29<sup>a</sup>.
- (6) *Andreas*, fol. 29<sup>b</sup>–52<sup>b</sup>.
- (7) *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 52<sup>b</sup>–53<sup>b</sup>.
- (8) Runic passage, containing the name Cynwulf, fol. 54<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup>
- (9) Prose sermon on the miracles preceding Christ's birth and the Flight into Egypt, fol. 54<sup>b</sup>–56<sup>a</sup>.
- (10) Sermon against extravagance and gluttony, fol. 56<sup>b</sup>–59<sup>a</sup>.
- (11) Sermon on the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell, fol. 59<sup>a</sup>–61<sup>a</sup>.
- (12) Sermon on the suddenness of death, fol. 61<sup>a</sup>–65<sup>a</sup>.
- (13) Sermon on the transitoriness of the world and its joys, fol. 65<sup>a</sup>–71<sup>a</sup>.
- (14) Three sermons for the three *gangdagas*, or Rogation Days, fol. 71<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>b</sup>.
- (15) Sermon entitled *Larspel to swylcere tide swa man wile*, fol. 76<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>.
- (16) Sermon on the Judgment Day, fol. 80<sup>b</sup>–85<sup>b</sup>.

folio in, he may have bent over the inner edge of the folio, which would then show up between two folios as a narrow strip. This Napier takes to be the case after fol. 29, 35, 38, 50, and 53; on the other hand, after fol. 42 and 103 Napier thinks a folio has been cut out of the volume. Morley, *English Writers* II, 195, amusingly blunders into ascribing the composition of the *Vercelli Book* to Eusebius, and says that leaves were torn out of it, "often from among the poetry, as precious gifts for favored persons." But Blume, *Iter Italicum* I, 99–100, from whom Morley evidently derived his information, makes this statement not with reference to our codex, but with reference to a famous manuscript of the Gospels preserved at Vercelli. Robinson, *Introduction to our Early English Literature*, pp. 211–212, repeats Morley's mistake.

<sup>1</sup> As given by Wülker, *Anglia* V, 451–465, and *Grundriss*, pp. 485–492.

<sup>2</sup> Unnoticed by Wülker, first pointed out by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70.



- (17) Sermon on the Epiphany, fol. 85<sup>b</sup>–90<sup>b</sup>.
- (18) Sermon on the Purification, fol. 90<sup>b</sup>–94<sup>b</sup>.
- (19) Sermon on St. Martin, fol. 94<sup>b</sup>–101<sup>a</sup>.
- 3 (20) Poetical dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 101<sup>b</sup>–103<sup>b</sup>.
- 4 (21) Fragment of a sermon in verse on Psalm XXVIII, fol. 104<sup>a</sup>–104<sup>b</sup>.
- 5 (22) *Vision of the Cross*, fol. 104<sup>b</sup>–106<sup>a</sup>.
- (23) Prose homily, fol. 106<sup>b</sup>–109<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup>
- (24) Sermon on the deadly sins, fol. 109<sup>b</sup>–112<sup>a</sup>.
- (25) Prose homily, fol. 112<sup>a</sup>–116<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup>
- (26) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 116<sup>b</sup>–120<sup>b</sup>.
- 6 (27) *Elene*, fol. 121<sup>a</sup>–133<sup>b</sup>.
- (28) Prose life of St. Guthlac, fol. 133<sup>b</sup>–135<sup>b</sup>.

The existence of the *Vercelli Book* was first pointed out by Dr. Friedrich Blume, a German law-professor and bibliographer. In 1822 and 1823 Dr. Blume made a tour of investigation through the chief Italian libraries, the first purpose of which was the acquisition of material for the study of the sources of Roman law. In the course of his investigations, however, he was drawn into a consideration of manuscripts of literary as well as those of legal interest. It was during his examination of the manuscripts of the cathedral library at Vercelli, from October 27 to November 19, 1822, that he discovered the *Codex Vercellensis*. On his return to Germany he published an account of his researches in Italy, in a work in four volumes entitled *Iter Italicum*.<sup>2</sup>

The account of our codex given in the first volume is very brief; it is evident that Dr. Blume was not aware of the importance of the manuscript he had discovered.<sup>3</sup> The discovery appears to have aroused little interest. Aside from several brief notices of the existence of the volume,<sup>4</sup> practically no attention was paid to it until a dozen years after

<sup>1</sup> No title or description of the content of numbers 23 and 25 is given by Wülker.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, Berlin and Stettin, 1824; Vol. II, Halle, 1827; Vol. III, Halle, 1830; Vol. IV, Halle, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> He gives the library number of the volume as Cod. CXVII, and says merely that it contains "Legenden oder Homilien in angelsächsischer Sprache. Dies ist um so merkwürdiger, da keine Kapitular-bibliothek in Italien andere als lateinische oder italienische Handschriften enthält; selbst griechische finden sich nur in Verona und vielleicht in Ravenna."

<sup>4</sup> By Pertz, who follows Blume, in *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte* V, 535 ff., Hannover, 1824; by Blume again, in *Rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz*, Jahrg. 1832, Göttingen, 1833, IV, p. 234 ff., and in *Bibliotheca Librorum*

cf. Brooks  
1748 letter  
by  
C. B. B.  
of Vercelli

its discovery. In the fourth volume of his *Iter Italicum*, p. 133, Dr. Blume returns to the subject: "Das angelsächsische Homilarium ist vor kurzem auf Veranstaltung englischer Geschichtsforscher, von (dem nun schon verstorbenen) Dr. Maier vollständig abgeschrieben worden; es haben sich wichtige angelsächsische Lieder darin gefunden (Jac. Grimm)." From this passage it will be seen that, contrary to the generally accepted opinion,<sup>1</sup> the first transcript of the *Vercelli Book* was not made by its discoverer, who indeed seems to have been ill prepared for such a task, but by one who has received slight credit for a very meritorious piece of work.

It was this copy of the manuscript by Dr. Maier that furnished the basis for the first printed edition of the text of any part of the manuscript. This edition, usually referred to as *Appendix B*, was published under the direction of the Record Commission of Great Britain, in the year 1836, as an appendix (*Appendix B*) to a *Report* by Charles Purton Cooper, secretary of the Record Commission, on the *Foedera* of Rymer. The edition, which contains only a bare text of the poetical parts of the manuscript, with neither introduction, translation, glossary, notes (except a few textual emendations), nor account of the attendant circumstances of its publication, was printed, according to Kemble (p. v), under the direction of Thorpe.<sup>2</sup> The *Report*, of which the *Appendices* were to form a part, was never made, and on the expiration of the Record Commission in 1837 the *Appendices* were placed in store, where they remained until the year 1869. In that year the Master of the Rolls directed the *Appendices*, although imperfect, to be distributed in such a manner as might render them most useful for literary and historical purposes.<sup>3</sup>

A few copies of *Appendix B* appear to have got abroad, however, at the time of its first publication in 1836. Grimm, who apparently had

*Manuscriptorum Italica*, Göttingen, 1834, p. 6; at the latter place Blume gives a transcription of a few lines from the opening of the homily on the purification of the Virgin (fol. 90<sup>b</sup>), from which one may judge that his comprehension of Anglo-Saxon must have been very scanty. For this passage, and the above references, see Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 240.

<sup>1</sup> Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 420; Kemble, p. v; for fuller references see my note, *MLN*. XVII, 171-172.

<sup>2</sup> Three plates are given reproducing fol. 75<sup>b</sup>, fol. 43<sup>a</sup> (ll. 1025-1060), and the large capital on fol. 49<sup>a</sup> (l. 1478).

<sup>3</sup> See the note prefixed to the volume by the Master of the Rolls.

seen Dr. Maier's manuscript copy of the text, was greatly disappointed at the inaccessibility of this first printed edition. It was not until 1839 that, through the kindness of Lappenberg, the historian, he had at his disposal a copy of the *Appendix*. In 1840 appeared his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, which he characterizes as, after *Beowulf*, "the oldest and most instructive examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry."<sup>1</sup> Grimm's edition may fairly be called the first edition of any portion of the manuscript. His texts are preceded by an introduction in which there is a discussion of the sources, the date, and the authorship of the two poems printed, and he gives numerous elaborate and scholarly notes.

Grimm's edition was followed by Kemble's, Part I, containing *Andreas*, appearing in 1843, and Part II, containing *Elene* and the minor poems, including *The Fates of the Apostles*, appearing in 1846.<sup>2</sup> In 1858 appeared the second volume of Grein's *Bibliothek*, which contains *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas*. In the preparation of his edition Grein made use of Thorpe (quoting his text as manuscript), Grimm, and Kemble; neither the original manuscript nor the transcript by Dr. Maier was consulted by him. First-hand reference to the manuscript was apparently not made again for many years, and then only to *Elene*.<sup>3</sup> But in 1881, and again in 1884, Professor Wülker visited Vercelli and made a new and careful study of the manuscript. The results of his observations appeared, first, in a description of the prose pieces of the manuscript,<sup>4</sup> and, second, in an entirely new text of the poetical portions of the volume.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime, however, Baskervill's separate edition

<sup>1</sup> P. iv.

<sup>2</sup> A brief introduction precedes the text, but nothing is added to Grimm's discussion of the poems. Kemble's text is also derived entirely from Grimm, without reference even to the text of *Appendix B*, though in the Preface, p. vii, he speaks of making use of the labors of his "two learned friends and predecessors." This is proved by such readings as l. 67, where Th. reads as the MS. *dæde*, Gm. without remark and K. *dæda*; l. 261, Th. as MS. *se ðe bæs*, Gm. without remark and K. *se bæs*; l. 337, Th. as MS. *ðurfan*, Gm. *durfon*, the MS. reading in the note given as *durfan*; K. without remark *durfon*. K's departures from Gm. are all either individual emendations or corrections of obvious misprints, e.g., l. 112, Gm. *alysed*, K. *alysedð*; l. 219, Th. and Gm. *wyrdeð*, K. *wyrðeð*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cynewulf's Elene*, herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza, Berlin, 1877 (fourth edition, 1899).

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* V, 451 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. angels. Poesie* III, 1 ff., 1888.

of *Andreas* had appeared in 1885.<sup>1</sup> In 1889 Napier<sup>2</sup> printed a collation of the poetical parts of the manuscript, pointing out at the same time the important passage on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> containing the name Cynwulf, which had theretofore remained unnoticed. Finally, in 1894, Wülker<sup>3</sup> made the original of the poetical parts of the manuscript accessible to all by means of an excellent photographic reproduction of those sections.<sup>4</sup> Besides the complete editions of the poem, extracts from *Andreas* have also appeared in various reading-books.<sup>5</sup>

*The Fates of the Apostles* was first printed in *Appendix B*.<sup>6</sup> It was omitted by Grimm in his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, but was included by Kemble in his edition of the poetry of the *Vercelli Book*.<sup>7</sup> The text appears again in Grein's edition,<sup>8</sup> and in Wülker's revision of Grein.<sup>9</sup> The passage on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> (*Ap.* 96–122) appears in none of these editions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baskervill announced his text, on the title-page, as based on the manuscript. But in his introduction, pp. v–vi, we are told that the new manuscript readings are “a collation of the manuscript with the printed text,” made by Wülker, apparently in 1881, on the basis of Grein's text. Besides these collations, which were entrusted to the editor for use in the preparation of his edition, Baskervill used Grimm, Kemble, and Grein, but not Thorpe.

<sup>2</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66–73.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Ver.*, Leipzig, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Although the poetical parts of the *Vercelli Book* have all been printed a number of times, the prose pieces, which constitute much the larger half of the volume, still await the hand of the editor. An edition of these homilies by Professor Napier is among the announcements of the Early English Text Society.

<sup>5</sup> Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, pp. 148–156, gives a passage corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1068–1606. Theodor Müller's *Lesebuch*, a work which was never published and which has been accessible to me only in the readings from it recorded by Wülker, contains an extract from *Andreas* on pp. 159–167. Ebeling, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, pp. 124–126, gives an extract corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1156–1258. Ebeling's text is an exact copy of Grimm's, the misprint (l. 1174) *ist* for *is* being repeated without remark; his notes also are merely abbreviated extracts from Grimm. Cook's extracts in *A First Book in Old English*, pp. 211–231, correspond to Wülker, ll. 235–536; ll. 818–825; and ll. 831–874<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> It follows *Andreas* immediately, but has this separate heading: *The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, A Fragment, e cod. vercell.*

<sup>7</sup> Kemble uses the same title as *Appendix B*. He separates the poem from *Andreas*, placing it among a group of the minor poems of the *Vercelli Book*.

<sup>8</sup> With the title *Fata Apostolorum*. It immediately precedes *Andreas*.

<sup>9</sup> With the title *Die Schicksale der Apostel*. It is placed immediately after *Andreas*.

<sup>10</sup> It is given by Wülker, however, *Bibl.* II, 566, in his Nachträge. It was first printed by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70 ff. A literal transcript of the passage is given by Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii.

## II

## SOURCE OF ANDREAS

It has long been recognized that the ultimate source of *Andreas* is the Greek Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαθθεία εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων.<sup>1</sup> None of the extant manuscripts of the Πράξεις, however, can stand as the immediate source of the poem.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to assume, therefore, an intermediate version or versions, differing from all the Greek manuscripts. That this hypothetical intermediate form of the legend was a Latin translation of the Πράξεις — a theory inherently probable in itself — is capable of almost certain proof, although no complete Latin translation has been discovered.<sup>3</sup>

The chief argument for the former existence of a complete Latin translation of the Πράξεις is the fact that we have preserved to us fragments of a Latin translation. The first of these fragments is a passage of three or four lines inserted in the body of the text of one of the manuscripts of an Anglo-Saxon prose version of the legend of St. Andrew.<sup>4</sup> This passage, with the corresponding passage from the Πράξεις, is as follows :

<sup>1</sup> First edited by Thilo, *Acta SS. Apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae*, Halle, 1846; again by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 132–166; and again by Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha post Const. Tischendorf ed. Lipsius et Bonnet*, Vol. I, Part 2, ed. Max. Bonnet, pp. 65–116, Leipzig, 1898. Tischendorf's text has been translated into English by Alex. Walker, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. Roberts and Donaldson, Vol. XVI, pp. 348–368.

<sup>2</sup> As shown by Lipsius, I, 547; Bourauel, pp. 107–117.

<sup>3</sup> That the poem was derived from a Latin source is the opinion of Lipsius, I, 547; of Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte* III, 63; of Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 274; of Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 175 ff.; and of many others. Ten Brink, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 58, thinks the source of the poem was a Greek text of the Πράξεις, which, he says, must have been inaccessible to Cynewulf, the author of the poem, save through the help of learned monks. Bourauel, pp. 116–117, thinks it possible that the poet may have used both Greek and Latin versions of the Πράξεις.

<sup>4</sup> Preserved in two MSS., MS. 198 Corp. Christ. Col., Camb., and the MS. of the Blickling Homilies, preserved at Blickling Hall in Norfolk. The legend was first edited by Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica*, Cambridge, 1851; it was again edited by Morris, E. E. T. S. IV, 229–249. A third edition, based upon new readings of the MSS., appeared in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, New York, 1894 (3d ed.), pp. 113–128. According to A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien*, p. 125, the collection to which the prose legend belongs was of northern origin.

*Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris, p. 231.

Tunc sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis et uidit nauiculam in litore et intra naue sedentes tres uiros.<sup>1</sup>

Πράξεις, p. 69, ll. 14-17.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀνδρέας τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἅμα τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἶδεν πλοiάριον μικρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλοiάριον τρεῖς ἄνδρας καθεζομένους.

The corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon prose reads as follows :

Sē hāliga Andrēas bā ārās on mergen, and hē ēode tō bære sǣ mid his discipulum, and hē geseah scip on bām waroðe and bry weras on bām sittende.<sup>2</sup>

The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll. 235-247.

These passages, it will be observed, repeat each other almost word for word. The only variation of importance is that *naviculam*, which translates the Greek πλοiάριον μικρὸν, appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose simply as *scip*, in *Andreas*, however, as *wīdfæðme scip*, l. 240. But that *naviculam* was the word which lay before the homilist we may be sure from his phrase *medmiclum scipe* (p. 116, l. 5), in the passage which immediately follows the lines quoted. The phrase of *Andreas* is to be regarded as nothing more than a poetic heightening of the language of its source. Aside, therefore, from the inference that the homilist is here quoting from his original, nothing can be determined from the comparison of these short passages.

The second Latin fragment is larger and more important. It was discovered by Bonnet at Rome in a palimpsest of the eleventh century,<sup>3</sup> the original writing of which had not been entirely destroyed. The whole of it is printed by Bonnet in his edition of the Πράξεις,<sup>4</sup> and as the passage is little short of decisive of the question of the Latin source of *Andreas* and the Anglo-Saxon prose, it is given here, in a

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, p. vii, note, thinks that this passage of Latin crept into the Anglo-Saxon text through inadvertence; Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 181, and Förster, *Ueber die Quellen von Aelfrics Hom. Cath.*, p. 46, look upon this, as on all similar passages, as an intentional learned insertion made by the translator from the language of the original which he was translating. Zupitza's explanation is the more probable one.

<sup>2</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 116, ll. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Vallicell., plut. I, tom. III, fol. 44<sup>a</sup>-44<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> II, 1, pp. 85-88. A part of the passage was printed by Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202, for the purpose of comparison with the Anglo-Saxon prose.

literal transcript, with the corresponding section of the *Πράξεις* beside it.<sup>1</sup> The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll. 843-954.

Cod. Vallicell. (*Πράξεις*, p. 85, l. 14).  
doniae . . . .  
doniae. et respexit ad discipulos  
et uidit eos dormientem. et exci-  
tans eos dixit eis: Surgite filii  
5 mei et uidete et cognoscite miseri-  
cordiam dei que facta est nobis  
et scitote quia dominus Iesus  
Christus nobiscum erat in nauem  
et non cognouimus eum . . . .  
10 . . . . .  
. . . . . nobis  
quas homo ad tentandum nos.  
nam domine Iesu Christe intellegi  
tua loquella . . . . . ide-  
15 (p. 86, l. 13)oque non te minime  
recognoui. Et dixerunt discipuli  
eius ad ipsum: Domine pater  
Andreas, ne speres quia nos alii  
intellegimus quicumque loqueua-  
20 ris in mari. translati enim sumus  
in sommo gramori, et ascenderunt  
aquilae et rapuerunt animas nos-  
tras et duxerunt nos in paradysum  
quod est in caelis, et uidimus  
25 mirabilia magna. et uidimus  
dominum nostrum Iesum Chris-  
tum sedentem in throno gloriae  
sae et omnes angeli circumstan-  
tem . . . . .  
30 . . . . .  
. . . . . et uidemus

*Πράξεις* (Cap. 17, p. 85, l. 1).  
καὶ θεασάμενος εἶδεν τὴν πύλην  
τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης· καὶ περιβλε-  
ψάμενος εἶδεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ  
καθεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ διύ-  
5 πνισεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· Ἀνάστητε  
τεκνία μου, καὶ γνώσεσθε τὴν μεγά-  
λην οἰκονομίαν τὴν γενομένην ἡμῖν,  
καὶ μάθετε ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἦν μεθ'  
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωμεν  
10 αὐτόν· μετεμόρφωσεν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν  
ὥσπερ πρωρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ  
ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφάνη ἡμῖν  
ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐκπειράζων ἡμᾶς. καὶ  
ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενάμενος  
15 εἶπεν· Ἐπέγνων σου κύριε τὴν  
καλὴν λαλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφανέρωσάς  
μοι ἑαυτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώ-  
ρισά σε. καὶ ἀποκριθεῖτες οἱ μαθη-  
ταὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Πάτερ  
20 Ἀνδρέα, μὴ νομίσης ὅτι ἔγνωμεν ἐν  
τῷ σε λαλεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετ'  
αὐτοῦ· εἰλκύσθημεν ὑπὸ ὕπνου  
βαρυ-(p. 86)τάτου, καὶ κατήλθον ἐκ  
τῶν οὐρανῶν αἰετοὶ καὶ ἦραν τὰς  
25 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῷ  
παραδείσῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ  
εἶδομεν μεγάλα θαυμάσια. ἐθεασά-  
μεθα γὰρ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης, καὶ  
30 πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι κυκλοῦντες αὐτόν.  
ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους,

1 and 2. *Evidently there stood here some form of the name Mermedonia.* —  
3. dormientem: cf. l. 28, circumstantem; l. 34, dicentes. — 12. quas for quasi. —  
19. quaecumque? — 21. sommo gramori for somno grauiori. descenderunt? —  
28. *Read suae.*

<sup>1</sup> The readings of the various MSS. of the *Πράξεις* are not given, as they differ but slightly from the text printed.



post uos . . . .

unumquemque . . . .

et audiui dominum Iesum di-  
 35 centes ad angelos: Audide apos-  
 tolos meos in omnibus que p . . . .  
 a uobis. Haec sunt que (p. 87,  
 l. 14) uidimus pater Andreas. et  
 cum nos resuscitasti, tunc reddite  
 40 sunt animae nostrae in corpore  
 nostro.

(Cap. 18). Et cum haec audis-  
 set sanctus Andreandreas, letus  
 factus est, qui digni fuerant dis-  
 45 cipuli eius haec mirabilia uidere.  
 Tunc respiciens sanctus Andreas  
 in caelum et dixit: Domine meus  
 Iesu Christe, ego enim scio quia  
 non est longe a seruis tuis. unde  
 50 obsecro te indulgeas michi in unc-  
 locum. Haec dicentem sanctum  
 Andream uenit ad eum dominus  
 Iesus Christus in effigia pulcer-  
 rimi pueri et dixit ei: Gaudeas  
 55 cum tuis discipulis. Et cum ui-  
 (p. 88, l. 11)disset sanctum An-  
 dream, procidens in terra adora-  
 uit eum dicens: Indulge michi  
 domine Iesu Christe quia ut  
 60 hominem te extimaui in mari et  
 ita tibi locutus sum. quid enim  
 pec.aui domine ut non te michi  
 manifestasti in mare? Et domi-  
 nus Iesus ait illi: Andreas, nichil

καὶ Δαυὶδ ᾄδων ᾠδὴν ἐν τῇ κιθάρα  
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς  
 35 τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστη-  
 κότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑμῶν  
 ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς,  
 καὶ ἕκαστος ἄγγελος ὁπισθεν ἐκά-  
 40 στοῦ ὑμῶν ἐστηκώς, καὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι  
 ὑμῶν τῇ ιδέᾳ. καὶ ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ  
 κυρίου λέγοντος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτι  
 Ἀκούετε τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ  
 πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶσιν (p. 87)  
 45 ὑμᾶς. Ταῦτά εἰσιν ᾧ εἶδαμεν πάτερ  
 Ἀνδρέα ἕως οὗ διύπνισας ἡμᾶς·  
 καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ  
 σώματι ἡμῶν.

(Cap. 18). Τότε Ἀνδρέας ἀκού-  
 50 σας ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην ὅτι κατη-  
 ξιώθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ  
 θαυμάσια ταῦτα θεάσασθαι. καὶ  
 ἀναβλέψας Ἀνδρέας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
 εἶπεν· Ἐμφάνηθί μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ  
 55 Χριστέ· ἐγὼ γὰρ γινώσκω ὅτι οὐκ  
 εἶ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν δούλων.  
 συγχώρησόν μοι κύριε ὃ ἐποίησα·  
 ὥς γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σε τεθέαμαι ἐν  
 τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὥς ἀνθρώπῳ σοι ὡμί-  
 60 λησα. νῦν οὖν κύριε φανέρωσόν  
 μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.  
 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀνδρέου  
 παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 γενόμενος ὅμοιος μικρῷ παιδίῳ·  
 65 ὡραιότατῳ εὐειδεῖ. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς  
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Χαῖρε Ἀνδρέα  
 ἡμέτερε. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας θεασάμενος  
 αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύ-  
 νησεν αὐτὸν (p. 88)τὸν λέγων· Συγ-  
 70 χώρησόν μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·  
 ὥς γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σε εἶδον ἐν τῇ

36. petent? — 43. Read Andreas. — 44. Read quia. — 47. Omit et? — 49. Read  
 es. — 56. Read sanctus Andreas. — 62. Read peccaui.

65 michi peccasti, set ideo hoc tibi  
 fecit quia dissisti: Non possum  
 proficere in triduo in anc ciuitate.  
 Propterea hoc tibi hostendi qui  
 potens sum et omnia possum  
 70 facere et unicuique aperire sicut  
 michi placet. et nunc surge, in-  
 gredere in ciuitatem ad Matheum  
 fratrem tuum et erue eum de car-  
 cere et omnes qui cum eo sunt  
 75 peregrini. ecce enim dico tibi  
 quia multa tormenta tibi habent  
 inferre isti nequissimi ut carnes  
 tuas in plateas ciuitatis et uicos  
 expurgant. ita sanguis tuis fluent  
 80 in terra sicut aqua, ita ut

θαλάσση καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ὠμίλησά  
 σοι. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ τι ἡμάρτηκα  
 κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ; ὅτι οὐκ ἐφάνέρω  
 75 σάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ;  
 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῷ  
 Ἀνδρέᾳ· Οὐχ ἡμαρτες, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά  
 σοι ἐποίησα ὅτι εἶπας· Οὐ δυνήσο-  
 μαι πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν  
 80 ἀνθρωποφάγων ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις.  
 καὶ ὑπέδειξά σοι ὅτι πάντα δυνατός  
 εἰμι καὶ ἐκάστῳ φανῆναι καθὼς  
 βούλομαι. νῦν οὖν ἀνάστα, εἰσελθε  
 πρὸς Ματθεῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ  
 85 ἐξάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς  
 καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας  
 ξένους. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὑπο-(p. 89)δείκνυμί  
 σοι Ἀνδρέα πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν σε  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν· ἐνδείξονταιί σοι  
 90 ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς καὶ ἐπά-  
 ξουσίν σοι βασάνους καὶ σκορπί-  
 σουσίν σου τὰς σάρκας ἐν ταῖς πλα-  
 τεαῖαις καὶ ῥύμαις τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ τὸ αἷμά σου ῥεύσει ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
 95 ὥσπερ ὕδωρ· εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θάνα-  
 τον οὐ δύνανταί σοι παρασχεῖν·

66. *Read* feci. — 68. *Read* quia. — 70. apparere? — 77. et? — 79. *Read* expargunt (*i.e.* exspargunt *for* exspergent)? *Read* tuus fluet.

For the sake of convenience in comparison, the Anglo-Saxon prose may also be cited here :

þā sē mergen geworden wæs, þā sē hāliga Andrēas licgende wæs  
 beforan Marmadonia ceastre, and his discipulōs þær slæpende wæron  
 mid him; and hē hīe āweahte, and cwæð, ‘Ārīsað gē, mīne bearn, and  
 ongitað Godes mildheortnesse sīo is nū mid ūs geworden. Wē witon  
 5 þæt ūre Drihten mid ūs wæs on þām scipe, and wē hine ne ongēaton;  
 hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorrēþra, and hē hine ætēowde swā man ūs  
 tō costienne.’ Sē hāлга Andrēas þā lōcode tō heofonum, and hē cwæð,  
 ‘Mīn Drihten Hælend Crīst, ic wāt þæt þū ne eart feor fram þīnum  
 þēowum, and ic þē behēold on þām scype, and ic wæs tō þē sprecende  
 10 swā tō men. Nū þonne, Drihten, ic þē bidde þæt þū mē þē onȳwe on  
 þisse stōwe.’ þā þis gecweden wæs, þā Drihten him ætȳwde his onsȳne

on (p. 119) fægeres cildes hīwe, and him tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, gefeoh mid þīnum discipulum.’ Sē hālgā Andrēas þā hine gebæd and cwæð, ‘Forgif mē, mīn Drihten, þæt ic tō þē sprecende wæs swā tō men; and  
 15 wēn is þæt ic gefirnode, for þon þe ic þē ne ongeat.’ Drihten him þā tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, nāenig wuht þū gefirnodest, ac for þon ic swā dyde, for þon þū swā cwæde þæt þū hit ne meahtes on ðrīm dagum þider gefēran; for þon ic þē swā ætēowde, for þon ic eom mihtig mid worde swā eall tō dōnne, and ānra gehwilcum tō ætēowenne swā hwæt swā mē līcað. Nū  
 20 þonne arīs, and gā on þā ceastre tō Mathēum þīnum brēþer, and lāet þonne hine of þære ceastre, and ealle þā þe mid him syndon. Eno ic þē gecyþe, Andrēas, for þon þe manega tintrega hīe þē on bringað, and þīnne līchaman geond þisse ceastre lonan hīe tostencap swā þæt þīn blōd flōwð ofer eorðan swā swā wæter. Tō dēaþe hīe þē willaþ gelædan, ac hī ne magon.<sup>1</sup>

An examination of these four passages shows, first of all, that the Latin is almost word for word a translation of the Greek. The inference is therefore unavoidable that we have here a fragment of a version which, in its complete form, must have been a close and entire translation of the *Πράξεις*. There are, however, some instructive differences between the Latin and the Greek. In the first place, some form of the name Mermedonia stood at least twice in the Latin translation, though it appears neither in the corresponding passage of the Greek nor elsewhere in that version. The name of Andrew’s companion in the Latin is Matthew (cf. l. 72), not Matthias.<sup>2</sup>

The phrase *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*, l. 4, is omitted in the Latin. In l. 66 the words *Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε* are wanting in the Latin; in their stead, however, the Latin has, l. 55, *cum tuis discipulis*, which is found in none of the Greek MSS. In l. 73 the Latin fragment adds *fratrem tuum*, in l. 77 *isti nequissimi*, neither phrase being found in any of the Greek MSS.

Comparing the Latin now with the Anglo-Saxon prose, it will be observed that the Anglo-Saxon has omitted a connected passage of the Latin, ll. 16–45, in which the vision of the disciples of Andrew is related. This, however, as further comparison of the prose with the Greek version and *Andreas* shows, is quite in keeping with the usual method of the Anglo-Saxon prose in omitting the episodes of the action. In matters of detail it will be noted that Marmadonia is mentioned twice (the first

<sup>1</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, l. 14 — p. 119, l. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Of the nine MSS. of the *Πράξεις*, six read regularly Matthias, two regularly Matthew, and one varies between the two forms of the name. Cf. Bonnet, p. xxi and p. 65, and Lipsius, II, part 2, p. 136.

time on p. 118, l. 10, just preceding the opening lines of the passage quoted; the second time, in the passage quoted, l. 2) as it is in the Latin fragment, and, significantly, in the same context as the Latin. The name of the apostle is of course Matthew in the Anglo-Saxon version. The phrase ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is omitted in the Anglo-Saxon as it is in the Latin. Again, in l. 66, Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε has no equivalent in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 13 the prose adds with the Latin the phrase *mid bīnum discipulum*, which is wanting in the Greek. In l. 20 of the prose, *bīnum brēðer* corresponds to the Latin, l. 73, *fratrem tuum*. Though the passages available for comparison are very brief, yet the evidence shows beyond a doubt that the Anglo-Saxon prose and the Latin are to be held together apart from the Greek; and we may reasonably suppose that if the whole of the Latin text had been preserved, it would consistently account for the variations of the Anglo-Saxon prose from the Πράξεις.

As is to be expected from the free nature of verse, the agreements between the Latin fragment and *Andreas* are less striking than those between the Latin and the prose. The most important parallels between the Latin and the prose, however, are also found in the verse. Thus, l. 844, Marmadonia is mentioned in the same context as in the Latin and the prose; it is, however, mentioned only once instead of twice as in the other two versions. The name of the apostle is again, throughout, Matthew. In l. 914, *mid bās willgedryht* corresponds to the Latin l. 55, and Anglo-Saxon prose l. 13. In l. 940, *bær bīn brōðor* is corresponds to Latin l. 73, Anglo-Saxon prose l. 20.<sup>1</sup> That the Anglo-Saxon prose could not have been the source of the poem is evident

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *Andreas* differs from the prose and the Latin in the following details: in l. 927 the name Achaia occurs, not found in the Greek version at all, or the Latin fragment so far as it has been preserved, or in the corresponding passage of the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that the name must have stood in the source of the poem at this place; we may allow the poet sufficient intelligence to have remembered it from its earlier occurrence in l. 169, in which context it also appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 847, *Geseh hē bā on grēote* is a fairly close equivalent of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, l. 4 of the Greek, a phrase omitted in the Latin and the prose. Certain phrases contained in the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon prose are omitted in *Andreas*: e.g. the phrase *ad tentandum nos*, l. 12 = Greek l. 13 = Anglo-Saxon prose ll. 6-7; *non cognovimus eum*, l. 9 = Greek ll. 9-10 = Anglo-Saxon prose l. 5; the sentence *Domine . . . mari*, ll. 17-20 = Greek ll. 19-22, a part of the connected passage omitted by the prose, is wanting in *Andreas*, although the rest of the passage is found there.

from the fact that there are numerous episodes of *Andreas* which are found in the *Πράξεις* but are omitted in the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is probable that the original of *Andreas* presented readings differing somewhat from those of the original of the prose version of the legend. The prose version is important, however, as presenting, in approximately complete form, those readings which hold *Andreas* and the prose together with the hypothetical Latin version, otherwise only fragmentarily preserved. For further detailed comparison of *Andreas* and the *Πράξεις*, see Bourauel, pp. 74–85.

This argument for a Latin original of *Andreas* may be strengthened by evidence of a somewhat less direct character. To the group consisting of *Andreas*, the Anglo-Saxon prose, and the Latin fragments representing a lost Latin original, designated by Zupitza<sup>1</sup> the Western group, as distinguished from the Greek or Eastern group, belong also two later redactions of the legend. The first of these, contained in the pseudo-Abdias,<sup>2</sup> is very much compressed, the greater part of the story of the *anthropophagi* being omitted. Its affinity to the other versions of the Western group, however, is attested by the fact that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, and Myrmidon (*Myrmidoni urbi, Myrmidonem civitatem, apud Myrmidonem*) is the city in which Matthew was made prisoner. The name of the apostle is always Matthew, and the phrase *tuum fratrem*, l. 73 of the Latin fragment, found also in the two Anglo-Saxon versions but wanting in the Greek, occurs likewise in the Abdias: *ut in Myrmidonem civitatem maturaret et fratrem Mathaeum de squalore carceris erueret monuit.*<sup>3</sup>

The second of the later adaptations belonging to the Western group is a complete but very free Latin manuscript version of the Greek, which represents a different form of the legend from the Latin fragments printed above.<sup>4</sup> This complete Latin version is so free that according to Förster it cannot be the source of the Anglo-Saxon prose form of the legend; and, according to Bonnet, for the same reason it affords little help in the construction of the Greek text. It agrees, however, with the Anglo-Saxon prose (and consequently with the other members

<sup>1</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 175–185.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, *Lib. III*, pp. 457–460.

<sup>3</sup> Fabricius, *III*, 458.

<sup>4</sup> *Cod. Vaticanus lat.* 1274, fol. 119<sup>b</sup>–160<sup>a</sup>. See Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202 ff., and Bonnet, *II*, 1, p. xxi. It has not been printed, but the contents are briefly described by Förster.

of the Western group) in giving the name of the apostle as Matthew, the country in which Andrew was teaching as Achaia, and the name of the city of the *anthropophagi* as Mirmidonia (*provincia* or *urbs*). A fuller report of the contents of this version would probably show further agreement with the other representatives of the Western group.

Thus there exist these various forms of the legend, held together by features, common to all, which are not found in any of the numerous manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. As these versions all originated in Western Europe, it is an extremely probable inference that there once existed a complete Latin translation of the Greek from which the versions of the Western group were derived.<sup>1</sup>

### III

#### SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No immediate source for *The Fates of the Apostles* has been discovered. In the short personal introduction with which the poem opens the author speaks of gathering his materials from afar,<sup>2</sup> and in the progress of the narrative he refers several times to sources.<sup>3</sup> These allusions we may look upon as hardly more than conventional poetic formulæ. For an examination of the type of narrative to which this short poem belongs, and a comparison of it with some of the representative examples of the type, lead to the inference that the author has exaggerated his difficulty in arriving at the information contained in his poem. Probably but a single version of what was in his day a well-known form of composition lay before him as he wrote.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the list of the Greek or Eastern group is increased by a Syriac version (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, Vol. I, the Syriac text, Vol. II, pp. 93-115, an English translation), an Ethiopic version (Malan, *Certamen Apostolorum*, London, 1871, pp. 147-163; cf. Lipsius, I, 546 f.), and a Coptic version (von Lemm, *Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten*, I, pp. 148-166, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. X, Liv. 1, St. Petersburg, 1890), all of which are fairly close adaptations of the *Πράξεις*. To these should probably be added an Old-Slavonic version cited by Harnack, I, 905, from Novaković in *Starine* VIII, 55-69; this version has not been accessible to me, and the description of it by Harnack is too brief to enable one to determine its relation to the other versions.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 23, 63, 70.

As early as the fifth century complete lists of the Twelve Apostles were current, held together by brief accounts of their missions, their sufferings, and the places of their death. It was evidently some such list as this that the poet of *The Fates of the Apostles* followed in the composition of his poem.<sup>1</sup> That it was a list written in Latin is evident<sup>2</sup> from the case forms of the proper names in the poem, e.g. *Gearopolim, Albano, Nerones*. But it has also been shown<sup>3</sup> that none of the extant versions of the Latin lists is the single source of the poem. All the details of it, however, as may be seen from the following extracts, may be derived, with but one exception, from the martyrology of Bede<sup>4</sup> and from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*.<sup>5</sup> Both Bede and the *Breviarium* give numerous details (omitted in the analysis) which are not found in *The Fates of the Apostles*; but the poem, with the one exception to be noticed later and a few passages of a personal character, contains nothing that is not also in these two Latin lists. In the martyrology of Bede the order of the names is chronological, the notices of the various apostles being thus distributed over the whole calendar; the order in the *Breviarium*, as compared with *The Fates of the Apostles*, is indicated by the numbers prefixed to the names.

*Bede's Martyrologium.*

III Kalend. Jul. Romae natale . . .  
Petri et Pauli . . . sub Nerone.

Prid. Kalend. Decemb. In civitate Patras provinciae Achaiae, natale . . . Andreae . . . Egea proconsule emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum.

VI Kalend. Jan. Natale . . . Joannis . . . quem Dominus Jesus amavit

*Breviarium.*

1-2. Simon Petrus . . . Romam pervenit . . . sub Nerone Caesare . . . cruce suspensus est . . . Paulus . . . sub Nerone eodem die quo et Petrus capite truncatus.

3. Andreas . . . praedicavit per Scythiam et Achaïam, ibique in civitate Patras cruce suspensus occubuit pridie Kal. Decembris.

5. Joannes . . . dilectus Domini, praedicator Asiae et in Epheso.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the origin and history of this form of apocryphal literature, see Lipsius, I, 192 ff. <sup>2</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 381.

<sup>3</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 379-382; Bourauel, pp. 101-107.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* XCIV, col. 797 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Described by Lipsius from numerous MSS., I, 211-212. A complete text may be found in Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Allemanicae*, 1777. It is also quoted in detail by Bourauel, p. 101 ff., from whom my citations are made.

plurimum . . . rediit Ephesum . . .  
 totas Asiae fundavit rexitque Eccle-  
 sias . . . aetatis autem suae nona-  
 gesimo nono mortuus, juxta eandem  
 urbem est sepultus.

VIII Kalend. Aug. Natale . . .  
 Jacobi . . . filii Zebedaei. In Cilicia  
 . . . sub Dagno rege . . . martyrium  
 capitis obtruncatione complevit.

Kalend. Maii. Natale . . . Philippi  
 et Jacobi . . . Philippus . . . reversus  
 est ad Asiam, et apud Hierapolim  
 dormivit in pace. (For James see  
 below.)

IX Kalend. Septem. Natale . . .  
 Bartholomaei . . . apud Indiam . . .  
 praedicans, vivus a barbaris decora-  
 tus est, atque jussu regis Astragis  
 decollatus . . .

XII Kalend. Jan. Natale . . .  
 Thomae . . . qui Parthis et Medis  
 . . . praedicans, passus est in India.

XI Kalend. Oct. Natale . . .  
 Matthaei . . . qui primus in Judaea  
 Evangelium . . . Hebraeo sermone  
 conscripsit . . . apud Aethiopiam  
 praedicavit . . . missus est spicula-  
 tor ab Hirtaco rege, qui eum gladio  
 feriebat efficiens martyrem Christi.

Kalend. Maii. Jacobus . . . qui et  
 frater domini legitur . . . ab apostolis  
 Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus  
 est. . . Hunc scribae et pharisaei  
 praecipitaverunt de pinna templi,  
 fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste  
 occubuit.

V Kalend. Novemb. Natale . . .  
 Simonis Chananaei, qui et Zelotes  
 scribitur, et Thadaei, qui etiam Judas

4. Jacobus . . . filius Zebedaei,  
 frater Joannis. Hic . . . sub Herode  
 gladio caesus occubuit.

7. Philippus . . . Gallis praedicavit  
 Christum: deinde in Hierapoli Phry-  
 giae provinciae crucifixus et lapida-  
 tus obiit . . .

9. Bartholomaeus apostolus . . .  
 ad ultimum in Albano maioris Ar-  
 meniae urbe . . . per iussum regis  
 Astryagis decollatur, sicque terra  
 conditur IX Kal. Sept.

6. Thomas . . . Parthis et Medis  
 praedicator . . . ad orientalem pla-  
 gam. Lancea . . . ibi transfixus oc-  
 cubuit in Calaminice, Indiae civitate,  
 ibi sepultus est in honore XII Kal.  
 Jan.

10. Matthaeus apost. et evang. . . .  
 primum quidem in Judaea evangeli-  
 zavit, postmodum in Macedonia; et  
 passus in Persida requiescit in mon-  
 tibus Portorum, XI Kal. Oct.

8. Jacobus, frater Domini Hiero-  
 solymorum primus Episcopus, . . .  
 de templo a Judaeis praecipitatur,  
 ibique . . . humatur.

11-12. Simon Zelotes . . . accepit  
 Aegypti principatum . . . cathedram  
 dicitur tenuisse Hierosolymorum . . .



Jacobi legitur, et alibi appellatur Lebbaeus . . . Thadaeus apud Mesopotamiam, Simon vero apud Aegyptum traditur praedicasse: inde simul Persidam ingressi . . . martyrium ibi . . . beato certamine consummaverunt.

meruit sub Adriano per crucem sustinere martyrii passionem. Jacet in Portoforo. Judas . . . in Mesopotamia atque in interioribus Ponti praedicavit: sepultus est in Merito Armeniae urbe.

A comparison of these passages from Bede's *Martyrologium* and the *Breviarium* with *The Fates of the Apostles* will show that all the incidents of the poem which relate to the various apostles might have been derived from Bede, except the account of the death of the fifth apostle, James, the brother of John, which agrees with the account of the *Breviarium*,<sup>1</sup> and the allusion to the awakening of Gad, in the notice of the eighth apostle, Thomas, an incident mentioned neither in Bede nor the *Breviarium*. It will be observed, also, that *The Fates of the Apostles* agrees frequently with Bede when Bede differs from the *Breviarium*. It seems extremely probable, therefore, that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* had before him not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.

The one important addition of *The Fates of the Apostles*, the allusion to the awakening of Gad, may have been in the common sources of Bede and *The Fates of the Apostles*, or, more likely, it may have been added from the author's own stock of information. Its ultimate origin is the longer apocryphal narrative of the Acts of Thomas, the *Πράξεις Θωμᾶ*,<sup>2</sup> one of the group of apocryphal narratives from which the lists of the apostles were originally made.

The poem cannot have had any of the practical purpose of the *Martyrologium* or *Breviarium*, or of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*,<sup>3</sup> since it gives none of the dates of the feasts of the various apostles. The motive which inspired its composition was, therefore, purely literary and devotional.

<sup>1</sup> See ll. 33<sup>b</sup>–37<sup>a</sup>, note, for the source of the account of the death of this James.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apoc.*, p. 190 ff.; Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. II., pp. 99–287. The story of Gad is mentioned in the account of Thomas given in the *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S., CXVI, 220; but the name Gad does not occur, nor is the phrasing of the narrative at all similar to that of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Cf. also Lipsius, I, 253.

<sup>3</sup> See Imelmann, *Das altenglische Menologium*, pp. 38–40.

## IV

## AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No Anglo-Saxon poem has been the subject of more widely divergent discussion with respect to authorship than *Andreas*. The earlier critics generally assigned the poem, without much hesitation but on very insufficient grounds, to Cynewulf. Thus Grimm<sup>1</sup> (1840) thought first that *Andreas* and *Elene* were by the same author, since they are preserved in the same manuscript, are similar in spirit and contents, and have similar characteristics of language. He adds later, however, that it is at most only possible, not highly probable, that the poems are from the same hand. If *Andreas* is not to be assigned to the author of *Elene*, he inclines toward the alternative opinion that it was composed by Aldhelm. Kemble<sup>2</sup> (1843) speaks more dogmatically than Grimm: "There cannot be a doubt that this Cynewulf [who signs his name to *Elene*] was the author of the poem *Elene*, probably of all the rest [of the poems in the Vercelli book] and those likewise which occur in the other collection [the Exeter book], and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was." He fixes upon Cynewulf, abbot of Peterborough (d. 1014), as most probably the author.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 1 ff.<sup>2</sup> P. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe (1844), *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric* I, 622, repeats Kemble's opinion. Ettmüller (1847, 1850), *Handbuch* I, 132 ff., *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, p. xi, assigns *Andreas* with probability to the same author as *Elene*, basing his opinion on the similarity of language between the two poems. Dietrich (1853), *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 210, assigns *Andreas* tentatively to Cynewulf. In a second study, *Kynewulfi Poetae Aetas*, Marburg, 1860, p. 5, after commenting on Grimm's list of parallels and differences between *Andreas* and *Elene*, he endeavors to show that by bringing into the discussion other poems of Cynewulf's, as *Juliana* and *Christ*, the differences are explained and Cynewulf's authorship of *Andreas* is confirmed. Rieger (1869), *Zacher's Zs.* I, 319, follows Dietrich in assigning the longer poems of the Exeter and Vercelli manuscripts to Cynewulf. Sweet (1871), in Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* II, 16, assigns *Andreas*, together with numerous other pieces, to Cynewulf. He thinks it most probable that the conclusion of *Andreas* is wanting and that, in its complete state, it contained an epilogue similar to that in *Elene*. The two poems are by the same author, he concludes, "from their marked resemblance of language and style." Grein (1874), *Kurzgefasste angels. Gram.*, Kassel, 1880 (published from lectures delivered in 1874), p. 12, assigns *Andreas*, *Juliana*,

The first detailed attempt to establish the authorship of *Andreas* was Fritzsche's<sup>1</sup> (1879). Fritzsche studied the poem from various points of view: (1) its relation to its source; (2) the nature of the subject matter, which he takes to be more legendary and marvelous than one would expect in Cynewulf; (3) the metre; (4) style and language; (5) vocabulary; (6) parallelisms between *Andreas* and other Anglo-Saxon poems. His conclusions are (p. 57) that the author of *Andreas* modeled his poem chiefly after *Beowulf* and the poems of Cynewulf; that the poet was an imitator or pupil of Cynewulf; and that, while the works of Cynewulf belong to the flowering period of Anglo-Saxon poetry, *Andreas* belongs to a later time when poetry was passing into a period of decay. Fritzsche's discussion has considerable power of conviction, and its influence is strongly felt in succeeding expressions of opinion.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ramhorst<sup>3</sup> (1885), taking up Fritzsche's argument point by point, endeavors (in most instances unsuccessfully) to disprove it, and arrives at the opposite conclusion, that *Andreas* was composed by Cynewulf. The argument shifts to the other side again with Sievers<sup>4</sup> (1885), who points out that the dative *fæder*, required by the metre in l. 1410, cannot be paralleled in

*Guðlac*, and *Elene* to Cynewulf, but gives no reasons for his decision. Hammerich (1874), *Aelteste christliche Epik*, tr. Michelsen, p. 97, sees no decisive reason for giving either *Andreas* or *Guðlac* to Cynewulf. Ten Brink (1877), *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, tr. Kennedy, p. 58, gives *Andreas* to Cynewulf. But Wülker (1878), *Anglia* I, 506, and Charitius (1879), *Anglia* II, 265, do not include the poem in their list of Cynewulf's works.

<sup>1</sup> *Das angels. Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf*, Halle, 1879; also *Anglia* II, 441-496.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the appendix to Ten Brink, p. 389, written after the appearance of Fritzsche's essay, the argument is said to be "calculated to raise serious doubts concerning Cynewulf's authorship." And Müller (1883), *Angels. Gram.*, p. 26, Lefevre (1883), *Anglia* VI, 184, and Ebert (1887), *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, p. 69, accept Fritzsche's conclusions more or less unreservedly. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivus in Andreas, Guðlac, etc.*, Halle, 1884, also in *Anglia* VIII, 1-40, as the result of his own investigations, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf. Earle (1884), *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 226, returns to the old view that all the poems of the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf; the fact, he says, that *Elene* is the last poem of the volume, and is signed, "naturally suggests the inference, which indeed is generally accepted, that all the poems in the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf."

<sup>3</sup> *Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas*, Berlin, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *PBB*. X, 483.

Cynewulf's works. Cremer<sup>1</sup> (1888) and Mather<sup>2</sup> (1892) find also that the metre and language incline slightly towards the theory of non-Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas*.

A new and important element was added to the discussion in 1888 by Napier's discovery of the runic passage on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Napier sees in this passage a conclusion to *The Fates of the Apostles*, and assigns that poem without question to Cynewulf. He draws no inferences, however, as to the authorship of *Andreas*. Sarrazin<sup>4</sup> (1889), who on the basis of comparisons of phraseology had assigned *Andreas* to Cynewulf before the discovery of the runic fragment,<sup>5</sup> was the first to regard<sup>6</sup> *The Fates of the Apostles* as the conclusion of *Andreas*, and, in consequence, the whole as the work of Cynewulf. This opinion, in slightly varying forms, has been enounced by numerous others.<sup>7</sup> But it has by no means passed without question. Wülker<sup>8</sup> (1888, 1896) regards *The Fates of the Apostles* as a separate and distinct poem from *Andreas*; the latter poem he ascribes, as Fritzsche had done, not to Cynewulf, but to an imitator. Sievers<sup>9</sup> (1891), returning to the subject, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, and in this negation sees one of the few undoubted results of investigations concerning questions of authorship in Anglo-Saxon literature. Brooke<sup>10</sup> (1892) is inclined, for stylistic reasons, to follow Fritzsche's opinion; in the note to his text, however, he shifts ground to the position that though it is "extremely likely that the *Andreas* is by Cynewulf, we have as yet no evidence for that opinion." In a later

<sup>1</sup> *Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchungen der alteng. Ged. Andreas, Guðlac, Phœnix*, Bonn, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> *MLN.* VII, 106.

<sup>3</sup> First announced in the *Academy*, September 8, 1888. The passage is printed and discussed by Napier in *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* XII, 375-387.

<sup>5</sup> *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Angl. Beibl.* VII, 372, *Wer hat die 'Schicksale der Apostel' zuerst für den schluss des Andreas erklärt?*

<sup>7</sup> By Gollancz (1892), *Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 173; by Trautmann (1895, 1898), in *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 17 ff., *Bonn. Beitr.* I, 9; by Kölbing (1899), *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 99-101; by Simons (1899), "Cynewulf's Wortschatz," in *Bonn. Beitr.* III, 1; by Bourauel (1900), p. 132; and by Skeat (1901), *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

<sup>8</sup> *Berichte d. Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Classe*, 1888, p. 212; *Geschichte d. eng. Lit.*, pp. 39, 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 413, p. 489.

utterance<sup>1</sup> he is inclined to give credence to the views of Sarrazin. Brandl<sup>2</sup> (1898) refuses to connect *The Fates of the Apostles* with *Andreas*, but regards the former as a separate poem, the subject of which is a traveler's charm.<sup>3</sup> Professor Cook, who first declared that "there can hardly be much doubt that the *Andreas* is to be given to Cynewulf,"<sup>4</sup> later modified his opinions, saying, "I am strongly inclined to assign the *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though I hesitate to express a positive opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, especially against Fritzsche's hypothesis of a close imitation."<sup>5</sup>

Manifestly the first thing to be done in order to clear the ground for a just estimate of the mass of argumentation represented by the above-mentioned discussions is to determine the relation of the runic signature to *The Fates of the Apostles* and the relation of *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. For if *The Fates of the Apostles*, with the runic signature, is merely an epilogue or concluding section of *Andreas*, we have indication of the first importance as to the authorship of the poem. The evidence which must be weighed here is of two sorts: first, the mere mechanical arrangement of the poems in the manuscript; and second, the evidence of the internal relation of subject matter in the two poems.

According to Skeat,<sup>6</sup> "if we go by the testimony of the MS. itself, we must allow that the first poem in the MS. occupies the back of fol. 29, fol. 30–53, and fol. 54, recto, where it ends with the word FINIT, below which is a blank space sufficient to contain six more lines. And further that this poem consists of 1840 lines, disposed in 16 Fits, of about 115 lines apiece, on an average." The record of the manuscript is briefly as follows: the *Andreas*, which, as Skeat says, begins the first section of poetry in the manuscript, extends from the first line of fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to the middle of fol. 52<sup>b</sup>. It is divided into fifteen sections of approximately equal length.<sup>7</sup> The sections are separated from each

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Herrig's Archiv* C, 330–334.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold (1898), *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121–126, Battenwieser (1899), *Studien*, p. 86, and Binz, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 389, are all convinced that *Andreas* is not by Cynewulf.

<sup>4</sup> *MLN.* IV, 7 (January, 1889).

<sup>5</sup> *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900, p. lxii.

<sup>6</sup> *l.c.*, p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> These sections are as follows: (1) fol. 29<sup>b</sup> top–fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot.; (2) fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot.–fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top; (3) fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top–fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid.; (4) fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid.–fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot.; (5) fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot.–fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid.; (6) fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid.–fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top; (7) fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top–fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.; (8) fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.–fol. 41<sup>b</sup> bot.; (9) fol. 42<sup>a</sup> top–fol. 43<sup>a</sup> bot.; (10) fol.

other by a blank space sufficient to contain one line. Each section begins with a large capital letter, the remaining letters of the first word being written in smaller capitals; these large capitals are all written out in the manuscript, except the opening letter of the twelfth section, fol. 46<sup>a</sup>, where the letter A stands alone, S, miswritten for Ð, having been erased, though the right letter was not afterwards inserted. Each section also ends with a distinctive mark of punctuation, usually a colon with a hook-shaped dash following it.

*The Fates of the Apostles* follows immediately after the conclusion of *Andreas*, the usual blank space being left between *Andreas* and the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The first letter of the first word (*Hwæt*) is wanting, though space is left, extending down through five lines, for its insertion; the remaining letters of the word are given in smaller capitals. The narrative begins at the middle of fol. 52<sup>b</sup> and extends without interruption in the manuscript to about three fourths of the way down fol. 54<sup>a</sup>, where it ends with FINIT and a period. The remainder of the page, sufficient to contain six lines, is left blank. The runic passage stands on this last folio (fol. 54<sup>a</sup>) by itself, beginning with the words, *Hēr mæg findan*, etc. It begins on the first line of the folio, without a capital or any other indication of a new beginning, nor is there any punctuation after the last word of fol. 53<sup>b</sup>.

From this examination it will be seen that there is no indication in the manuscript that the runic passage is anything other than a direct and uninterrupted continuation of *The Fates of the Apostles*, or that *The Fates of the Apostles*, together with this passage, stands in any other relation to *Andreas* than do the sections of *Andreas* to each other. A further examination, however, of the scribe's method of ordering other groups of poems in the manuscript, will show that there is no indication that *The Fates of the Apostles* must be taken as a part of a larger whole. On fol. 101<sup>b</sup>–fol. 106<sup>a</sup> there is a group of three poems that no one has ever thought of uniting. The first (*Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*) begins with a large capital on the first line of fol. 101<sup>b</sup>; on fol. 103<sup>a</sup>, near the bottom of the page, there is a sectional division, the last word of the section ending with the same mark of punctuation as that used in the first poem or poems of the

43<sup>a</sup> bot.–fol. 44<sup>b</sup> mid.; (11) fol. 44<sup>b</sup> mid.–fol. 46<sup>a</sup> mid.; (12) fol. 46<sup>a</sup> mid.–fol. 47<sup>b</sup> top; (13) fol. 47<sup>b</sup> top–fol. 49<sup>a</sup> bot.; (14) fol. 49<sup>a</sup> bot.–fol. 51<sup>a</sup> top; (15) fol. 51<sup>a</sup> top–fol. 52<sup>b</sup> mid.

manuscript, and followed by the usual blank space. The second section begins with a capital Ð. The conclusion of this second section, and of the poem, is wanting in the manuscript, as the poem breaks off abruptly at the end of fol. 103<sup>b</sup>. The same missing folio must have contained the opening of the second poem of the group (*Sermon in verse on Ps. XXVIII*), for fol. 104<sup>a</sup> opens abruptly with no indication that a new subject has been introduced. This fragmentary poem concludes on fol. 104<sup>b</sup>, near the top, with the usual mark of punctuation and the usual blank space. The third poem of the group (*Vision of the Cross*) begins with a large capital near the top of fol. 104<sup>b</sup> and continues without break to the foot of fol. 106<sup>a</sup>, where it ends with the usual mark of punctuation; the poem fills up the whole page, only a part of the last line being left blank. On fol. 106<sup>b</sup> then begins a group of prose selections. It will be seen, therefore, that if we observe merely the mechanical ordering of the poems in the manuscript, there is quite as much justification for declaring the three poems of the second group a single poem as for declaring *The Fates of the Apostles* a necessary part of *Andreas*; for the scribe uses exactly the same method in marking off sections of a poem that he uses in separating entirely different poems. The fact that a space of six lines is left vacant on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> is no indication that the scribe wishes to mark the end of a poem; for the second group of poems in the manuscript shows that it is not his usual method thus to mark the end of a poem. The space is left blank, we may suppose, first of all because it is a short space, and second because the next section of the manuscript was to be devoted to prose and not to verse selections. At the conclusion of *Elene*, fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, which is followed immediately by the prose life of St. Guthlac, the scribe did not leave the rest of the page blank as he had done at the end of *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 54<sup>a</sup>, but the reason is plain. On fol. 54<sup>a</sup> it required nineteen lines of his page in order to finish the poem in hand, leaving space for only six lines; on fol. 133<sup>b</sup> only six lines of the page were needed in order to finish the poem, leaving space for twenty-five lines (the writing here being much finer than in the earlier part of the manuscript). The wasting of twenty-five lines must have seemed a needless extravagance to the scribe.

The third and last section of poetry in the manuscript, extending from the first line of fol. 121<sup>a</sup> down through the sixth line of fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, contains the single poem *Elene*. The poem is divided into sections



just as *Andreas* is divided, each section beginning with capitals, ending with the usual mark of punctuation, and separated from the preceding and following sections by the usual blank space. The sections here, however, are numbered with roman numerals from one to fifteen inclusive,<sup>1</sup> apparently by the original scribe of the manuscript. Section fourteen, which concludes the actual narrative of the poem, ends with FINIT and the usual mark of punctuation. Section fifteen is a sort of personal epilogue in which occurs the passage containing the runes that form the name Cynewulf. This section concludes with a second ending, AMEN, followed by the usual punctuation. Immediately following the conclusion of the section, but separated from it by the usual blank space, comes the opening of the prose life of St. Guthlac, which is without number. Sarrazin<sup>2</sup> is therefore not exact when he says that the epilogue of *Elene* stands "äusserlich und innerlich" in the same relation to the body of the poem as *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. In the manuscript record of *Elene* there is distinct evidence, in the consecutive numbering of the sections, that they are to be taken as parts of a single poem. The double colophon is also peculiar to *Elene*. The ending of section fourteen with FINIT may be a mere reflection of the source of the poem, for indeed the actual narrative does end with that section. After the epilogue was added, the poet, not wishing to repeat his former ending, finishes with AMEN. Fortunately, in the case of *Elene* the testimony of the subject matter leaves no doubt that the fifteenth section is an integral part of the poem; in this respect also Sarrazin makes too much of the parallel between *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* on the one hand and *Elene* and its concluding section on the other.

We cannot agree, therefore, with Professor Skeat and others, that the manuscript speaks decisively in favor of accepting *The Fates of the Apostles* as an integral part of *Andreas*. At the most the manuscript merely permits the theory but speaks decisively neither one way nor the other. All that it allows us to say is that from fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to fol. 54<sup>a</sup> we have a poem or a group of poems, written out in orderly fashion and ending with a FINIT and a blank space on the last page.

An examination of the subject matter of the two poems in their relation to each other results in a somewhat more positive conclusion. In

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are omitted in sections eleven and twelve.

<sup>2</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 205.



general two main theories have been proposed by which *The Fates of the Apostles* is to be united to *Andreas*. According to the first (supported chiefly by Sarrazin, Trautmann, and Gollancz) *The Fates of the Apostles* is not an integral part of the narrative of *Andreas*, but an addition or epilogue, standing in the same relation to *Andreas* as the epilogue of *Elene* to that poem. According to the second theory, supported chiefly by Skeat,<sup>1</sup> *The Fates of the Apostles* is a necessary part of the plot and action of *Andreas*.

The title of this longer poem (to take up the second theory first), consisting of *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* united, should be, Professor Skeat contends, not *Andreas*, but *The Twelve Apostles*. The writer of the poem announces his subject in the opening lines: *twelfe undertunglum*. Of these twelve he takes up St. Matthew first, St. Andrew being mentioned for the first time in l. 169. "When St. Matthew is thus happily disposed of [but St. Matthew is not disposed of until ll. 1050 ff.], the story of St. Andrew, henceforth considered as the *principal* hero, really begins" (p. 414). When he has finished the special story of St. Andrew, continues Skeat, the poet reverts to his original theme. "But finding by this time that the apostles cannot all be discoursed of at the same length as St. Matthew and St. Andrew, he cuts the story short by the ingenious device of giving, not their whole legends, but merely a brief account of how each one came to his end. As neither St. Matthew nor St. Andrew were killed off in Fits 1-15, it became necessary to give each of these a few lines more. We thus learn that St. Matthew was executed (put to sleep by weapons) and that St. Andrew was crucified (was extended on the gallows)."

One hesitates to take all this seriously. For, accepting this theory, we have a poem on a great topic so loosely put together that it can hardly be said to have any coherence or unity at all; and such inarticulate work Professor Skeat would have us ascribe to Cynewulf. Furthermore, a glance at the sources of the two poems shows that the theory supposes a degree of unification and adaptation of these sources either beyond the powers or the purpose of the author or authors who composed the poems. In neither poem is there any indication that the poet thought he was composing a great epic on the Twelve Apostles; he was simply retelling a story as he had found it. The poet of *Andreas* mentioned the twelve in opening his poem because his source mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

them ; but even if this were not true, we need no more suppose that he intended writing in detail on each of the twelve, than that the poet of *Beowulf* intended giving us the life-histories of those heroes — *Heorogār and Hrōðgār and Hālgā til* — and the others who are mentioned before the real action of the poem begins. The author of *Andreas* treated of Matthew first because his source did so ; he gave most of his attention to Andrew because he followed his source, and when he had finished the story of St. Andrew he stopped because his source stopped. And indeed it was an appropriate ending. The narrative had brought Andrew out of the land of Achaia, had related his adventures in the city of the *anthropophagi*, and had closed with the return of the saint to the place from which he had set out. One feels that the story is closed, it has its peroration and nothing more is needed or expected. The poet of *The Fates of the Apostles*, whether the same person as the poet of *Andreas* or not, we may be sure followed his source quite as closely.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the opening passages of the two poems are very much alike, and are evidently fashioned either on the same model or one on the other, is rather an indication that the passages introduce two separate poems than two sections of the same poem ; the allusion to the twelve at the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* cannot be taken, as Professor Skeat would take it, as a resumption and repetition of the subject as announced in the opening lines of *Andreas*, for the introduction to *The Fates of the Apostles* actually gives the subject of the narrative that follows, whereas the introduction to *Andreas* is purely preliminary and outside the real narrative of the poem. There is, in short, not the slightest indication in either poem of an endeavor to fuse the old material into a single tale of the fates of all Twelve Apostles. If the scribe of the *Vercelli Book* had happened to place *The Fates of the Apostles* in the second or third section of poetry in the manuscript, instead of in the first and immediately following *Andreas*, I doubt if it would ever have occurred to the ingenuity of any one to look upon it as a part of the story of *Andreas*.

The contents of *The Fates of the Apostles* in relation to the narrative of *Andreas* must now be examined ; for if *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* are not to be taken as one long poem on the Twelve Apostles, it is still possible, as Gollancz suggests, that *The Fates of the Apostles* is an appendix or epilogue to *Andreas*. As opposed to such

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. xxix ff.

a theory it is to be noted, first, that *Andreas* ends with a definite and appropriate conclusion, with no indication of anything to follow; and, second, that *The Fates of the Apostles* opens with an entirely new beginning, followed by a regularly developed narrative and conclusion which is dependent in no respect on any preceding narrative. The opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* is not merely the exclamation *hwæt*, followed by an immediate resumption of the narrative, as in *Andreas*, l. 1478, but an elaborate formal beginning parallel to the opening of *Andreas* itself. Sievers<sup>1</sup> first pointed out the likeness between these two openings, showing that both are imitations of the opening lines of *Beowulf*. Such similarity is, of course, no indication that the two passages belong to the same poem; for, granted that they are by the same author, it is less likely that an author would repeat himself so plainly within the bounds of a single poem than in two separate poems.

In these opening lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, ll. 1-11<sup>a</sup>, the poet announces his subject. In the first line of this passage, *bysne sang* is logically inseparable from what follows — *hū bā æðelingas*, l. 3, and its elaboration. It cannot be translated 'the above or preceding song,'<sup>2</sup> because the phrases with which it is coördinate in ll. 3 ff. do not describe the action of *Andreas*, though they do describe very closely the action of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The poem begins, therefore, without any allusion to preceding action, either to the *Andreas* or to any other subject. Again, in the narrative which follows immediately after this introductory passage, Andrew comes third in the list, as is usual in such compositions, whereas Matthew, entirely disconnected from him, comes ninth. Nowhere is there any allusion to the narrative of *Andreas*, or any indication that the author knew the story of *Andreas* or that he had treated of these two apostles elsewhere. In the account of Andrew stress is laid upon his death at the hands of Egeas, a name and incident unknown to *Andreas*; in the account of Matthew we are told of his death at the hands of Irtacus, also unknown to *Andreas*. Matthew is said to have preached *mid Sigelwarum*, l. 64, i.e. in Ethiopia (cf. note to *Ap.* 64); in *Andreas*, Andrew announces the end of their journey to his followers as *on Ælmyrcna ēðelrīce*, l. 432. The allusion in *The Fates of the Apostles* is evidently derived from its source (cf. p. xxxi); no equivalent is found in the *Πράξεις* for the statement of l. 432 of *Andreas*.

<sup>1</sup> *PBB.* IX, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Bourauel, p. 132, 'das obige Gedicht.'

It might easily be derived, however, from common stock of tradition, and at the most indicates, not that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* wrote also *Andreas*, but that the author of *Andreas* may possibly have known *The Fates of the Apostles*. The name Mermedonia is not mentioned in *The Fates of the Apostles*. Finally, after the list of the Twelve Apostles is completed, *The Fates of the Apostles* ends with an appropriate conclusion, which, freely translated, runs as follows: —

‘Thus these noble ones, the great-minded twelve, perished; fame unending these thanes of glory won in the spirit. Now then I pray that he who loves the study of this song petition that holy throng [i.e. the twelve] for help for me, sad of heart, for protection and for aid. Alas! I shall have need of friends, of kindly disposed ones, on my journey, when, alone, I seek my long home, that strange habitation, leave behind me my body, this portion of earth, this corpse as a feast for worms.’

After this passage, ll. 85–95, follows a second conclusion in which the poet gives the runes which form his name. Here, he says, the skilled in perception may find, he who takes pleasure in songs, who made this poem (*þās fitte*, l. 98). The runes then follow, in a passage the thought of which is the transitoriness of earthly possessions. In a few concluding lines (ll. 107 ff.) the poet returns to the request of the preceding passage, ll. 88 ff.: ‘Be mindful of this, he who loves the study of this poem, that he beseech for me comfort and aid. Far hence must I, all alone, seek a new habitation, undertake a journey, I know not myself whither, out of this world. Those dwellings are unknown to me, that land and that home. It is so with every man unless he be partaker of the holy spirit. But let us the more zealously cry unto God, let us send our prayers into the bright heaven (*gesceaft*, l. 116), that we may enjoy that habitation, that home on high, where are the greatest of joys, where the King of angels yields to the poor unending reward. Now his praise remain forever great and glorious, together with his power eternal and ever renewed, throughout all creation!’ It will be noted that in the passage which might be called the first conclusion (i.e. ll. 88–95) there is specific reference to the subject matter of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but no reference is made to the action of *Andreas*. In the second ending, however, there is direct allusion neither to *The Fates of the Apostles* nor to *Andreas*. The passage is entirely disconnected from any preceding narrative, and might easily belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, or to *Andreas*, or to neither. In *The Fates of the Apostles*,

therefore, as in *Andreas*, a single narrative is appropriately introduced, is consistently developed, and (except for the double ending, which will be discussed later) is brought to a satisfactory conclusion; nothing in the one is needed to explain the details of the action of the other.

Certain expressions of *The Fates of the Apostles* have been supposed to refer back to *Andreas*. Thus, (1) according to Trautmann,<sup>1</sup> the phrases *bysses giddes begang*, *Ap.* l. 89, and *bisses galdres begang*, *Ap.* l. 108, cannot refer to *The Fates of the Apostles*, because the word *begang* connotes the meaning 'long, extended,' the whole phrase meaning 'this long poem,' a description which cannot apply to the 130 lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but which applies very aptly to *The Fates of the Apostles* as a part of *Andreas*. The meaning 'long' or 'extended' which Trautmann finds in the word *begang* he derives from its use in such combinations as *swegles begang*, *gārsecges b.*, *flōda b.*, *geofones b.*, *holma b.*, *wyrda b.*, and others. But the idea of wide extent in these phrases comes not from the meaning of the word *begang*, but from the word with which it is united; by itself *begang* means only 'extent, space, circuit,' as the dictionaries define it. When combined with the name of an object of small extent it means no more than when combined with the name of an object of great extent.<sup>2</sup> (2) Bourauel<sup>3</sup> sees a verbal allusion to *Andreas* in the words *bās fitte*, l. 98, which he takes to be accusative plural — 'these sections.' The sections, according to Bourauel, are three, *An.* 1–1477, *An.* 1478–1722, and *Ap.* 1 ff., each section being indicated by the exclamation *hwæt* at the beginning. It is true that mere grammar permits *bās fitte* to be taken as accusative plural, but it is equally true that the words may be taken as accusative singular. If the poet had been speaking to us of "sections," or even of a long poem on St. Andrew, there might be some reason for taking *bās fitte* as accusative plural; but he has been speaking to us only of his little poem on the Twelve Apostles, he knows nothing about *Andreas* or at least says nothing about it. Surely then the natural and unconstrained rendering of *bās fitte* is as accusative singular, 'this poem,'

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Barnouw, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 371–375, after showing that *gong* and *begong* are used interchangeably (cf. *El.* 648, 1123, 1255; *Chr.* 1035, 235) cites *Gu.* 1134: *worda gongum*, describing a speech of Guthlac's of 30 lines; the phrase *on geald-rum*, l. 1180, is used in allusion to the same speech. But it may be seriously questioned whether 'extent, space, circuit' is the right definition of the word as it occurs in the two passages in *Ap.* See B-T., s. v. *begang*, II. <sup>3</sup> Pp. 129–130.

an equivalent expression to *bysses giddes* or *galdres begang*. (3) Again Trautmann<sup>1</sup> insists that the double ending of *The Fates of the Apostles* already mentioned, though out of keeping in such a short poem as *The Fates of the Apostles*, becomes quite appropriate when we look upon this ending as the conclusion of the long story of St. Andrew. But, after all, the important point with regard to the double ending is not its length, but the fact that it is a double ending, the one part repeating, at times verbally, the other. It is difficult to see how such an irregularity is explained away by uniting *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. As to the right explanation of this double ending there may reasonably be a difference of opinion. Sievers<sup>2</sup> hesitates to ascribe such inartistic work to Cynewulf, and proposes the theory that all the passage contained on fol. 54<sup>a</sup>, that is ll. 96–122, does not belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, but to some other poem, and that it has been accidentally separated from its right connection and placed here at the end of a poem already provided with a complete ending. This theory, Sievers thinks, may explain the blot upon this folio as the mark of the scribe conscious of his error in placing the passage at this place. Where the passage actually belongs Sievers does not attempt to determine, though he denies emphatically that it has been separated from *Andreas* by the insertion of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Skeat<sup>3</sup> proposes a somewhat different explanation. The double ending, he says, consists of the two passages ll. 88–106 and ll. 107 to the end. The first passage, which contains the runes, he calls epilogue B, and the second passage epilogue A. “The author’s first intention was to end with epilogue A. But he afterwards determined to compose an epilogue containing runes, so as to give a clue to his name. Consequently he composed epilogue B in its stead and placed it in its right position at the end of the poem. But by some chance the scribe had access to a copy of the original epilogue A; and, thinking it too good to be lost—for which he is not to be blamed—he inartistically tacked it on to the *end* of the poem.” Neither Skeat’s nor Sievers’ hypothesis seems very convincing. Perhaps the simplest explanation is here the best. Though the double ending appears to be unnecessary and inartistic to our modern sense, it may not have seemed so much so to the author of the poem;

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 21–25.

<sup>3</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp. 419–420.

he may thus have added the second ending as an afterthought without considering it necessary to remove or change the other.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, then, we are forced to the conclusion that neither in the manuscript transmission nor in their contents is there any sufficient indication that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are to be taken as a single poem. The evidence of the manuscript permits such a supposition, but it affords no positive evidence in support of it; the evidence of subject matter is distinctly opposed to the theory, for each poem has its individual source and its own internal development. As to *The Fates of the Apostles*, the evidence of the manuscript points conclusively to Cynewulf as its author. Doubts are raised, however, by a consideration of the subject matter — especially the irregular double conclusion. But until some explanation of this peculiarity has been offered that carries more conviction than those so far brought forward, we may accept the testimony of the manuscript, and assign the poem to Cynewulf.

It remains to examine the evidence of metre, language, and style in *Andreas* as compared with the poems of undoubted Cynewulfian origin.<sup>2</sup> This has been carefully done for the metre by Cremer<sup>3</sup> and Mather.<sup>4</sup> Cremer concludes, as a result of his investigations, that though there are numerous differences between *Andreas* and the accepted poems of Cynewulf, these differences are too slight to justify a positive denial of the poem to him. Mather, working independently of Cremer but along similar lines, arrives at the same conclusion. He finds, for example, that double alliteration in the first half-line is one fourth more frequent in *Andreas* than in Cynewulf (i.e. *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Christ* I, II, III). The D and E types of the second half-line, the distinctively epic verse-form, which Mather considers as most important in his comparative tests, are one fifth more frequent in *Andreas* than in the poem of Cynewulf containing the largest number (*Christ* III), and one third more frequent than in the poem containing the smallest number (*Juliana*). In this respect *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf*, as

<sup>1</sup> A similar double ending occurs in *Widsið*, ll. 131-134 and ll. 135-143. Müllenhoff, *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 293, regards the first of these two passages as an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> In the present discussion the following poems are accepted as undoubtedly Cynewulf's: *Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ* I, II, III, *The Fates of the Apostles*. By combining the glossary to *Christ* I and III, in Professor Cook's edition, with Simons, *Cynewulf's Wortschatz*, a complete verbal index to these poems is obtained.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 4-41.

<sup>4</sup> *MLN.* VII, 97-107.



Mather points out, than to the poems of the Cynewulf group. The number of hypermetric lines in *Andreas* (given by Mather as ten) is much less than in Cynewulf (in the *Elene* alone there are seventy-one); in this respect also *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf* (which contains twelve hypermetric lines) than to the Cynewulfian poems. The evidence of the metre on the whole, Mather concludes, is not decisive. There is insufficient ground either for positively ascribing or denying *Andreas* to Cynewulf. The chief result of the metrical comparisons is that which establishes a special relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.

The evidence of language and vocabulary is more positive than that of metre. It should be remembered, however, that striking differences in language are not to be expected between two poems, though by different authors, of approximately the same time and place of origin; such differences as do appear are consequently of the more significance.<sup>1</sup> A few of the more noteworthy differences in language between *Andreas* and the accepted works of Cynewulf may be mentioned:<sup>2</sup>

(1) Certain forms in *An.*, Fritzsche thinks (pp. 42–43) still preserve traces of the original writer's individual usage: thus the forms *mec* and *bec* do not appear at all in *An.*, though they appear interchangeably with *mē* and *bē* in the poems of Cynewulf. That the usage in *An.* is not due entirely to the scribe of the MS. is indicated by the appearance of *mec* and *bec* in other parts of the *Vercelli Book*, as, for example, in *El.* The forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur eighteen times in *An.*; the forms *cwōm*, *cwōmon* occur twice (ll. 738, 1278). The reverse is true of Cynewulf; the forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur in *El.* 150 and *Riddles* LXXXVIII, 12 (if we regard the *Riddles* as non-Cynewulfian, only once in Cynewulf), beside numerous occurrences of *cwōm*, *cwōmon*. Fritzsche points out that as the poems of Cynewulf are preserved partly in the *Vercelli* and partly in the *Exeter Codex* this uniformity is the more striking. Such forms as *āgef*, *An.* 189, 285, 572, etc., *geseh*, *An.* 847, 992, 1004, beside the regular *āgeaf*, *geseah*, though not entirely unknown

<sup>1</sup> Thus Wack, "Artikel und demonstrativpronomen in Andreas und Elene," *Anglia* XV, 209–219, finds no appreciable difference between *Andreas* and *Elene* in the use of the forms studied. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetives in Andreas, Guðlac, Phönix, dem Heiligen Kreuz und der Höllenfahrt*, Halle, 1884, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though his data do not justify so positive a conclusion. Barnouw, *Der bestimmte Artikel im Altenglischen*, p. 150, thinks that the use of the definite article in *Andreas* points to a pre-Cynewulfian period; he would place *Andreas* between *Gen. A* and *Daniel*; but again the argument is weak.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise indicated the observations are my own.



in Cynewulf (cf. *El.* 587, *āgefon*; *El.* 841, *geseh*) are there exceptional, whereas in *An.* they are the more frequent forms.

(2) The dative of *fæder* in Cynewulf is *fædere* (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* X, 1483); *An.* 1346, 1410, prove the form *fæder* for that poem.

(3) The use of the periphrastic preterit, formed by the preterit of *onginnan*, *cuman*, *gewitan*, + an infinitive, Fritzsche points out (pp. 38–39) is more frequent in *An.* than in Cynewulf. Thus the form *cōm(on)* + infinitive occurs only five times in Cynewulf, twice, *Jul.* 563, *Chr.* 549, being with verbs of motion; in *An.* alone the construction occurs eight times with the infinitive of verbs of motion, once with another verb. The preterit of *gewitan* + infinitive of a verb of motion occurs only once in Cynewulf, *Chr.* 533; the construction is common (see Glossary) in *An.*, occurring thirteen times.

(4) Though in general differences of vocabulary are best explained as arising from differences in subject matter, yet the following variations in the use of words and particles of common occurrence seem to have some significance:

(a) *butan*, conj. and prep., occurs only three times in *An.*, but twenty times in *Chr.*, ten times in *El.*, and six times in *Jul.*

(b) *æninga*, adv., found four times in *An.*, does not occur in Cynewulf.

(c) *ḡā gēn*, 'then, again,' is found twice in *An.*, ll. 601, 727. In Cynewulf *gēn* and *ḡā gēn* occur frequently (six times in *Chr.* I–III, seven times in *El.*, nine times in *Jul.*), not only in the sense 'then, again,' but also with the meaning 'yet, furthermore.' On the other hand *ḡā gīt*, *gīt* (once *nū gýt*), occurs nine times in *An.*; it occurs in Cynewulf only in *Chr.* I, ll. 318, 351. *ḡā gīt*, *gīt*, in *An.* fills largely the place which *ḡā gēn*, *gēn*, occupies in Cynewulf.

(d) *lýt* occurs five times in *An.*, in Cynewulf only in *El.*, l. 63 (cf. *El.* 142 *lýthwon*). *Lýtel*, the regular form in Cynewulf, occurring eight times (*Chr.* 1400, MS. *lyt*, must read *lytel*, as is proved by the metre), occurs only once in *An.*, l. 1488.

(e) *sum* is found in *An.* always with a gen. plural, never absolutely as in Cynewulf (*El.* 131 ff., 548; *Chr.* 664 ff., etc.). Note also the absolute use in *Ap.* 11.<sup>1</sup>

(f) *sīḡ* = 'afterwards.' In Cynewulf the form *sīḡ* varies with *sīḡḡan*, the shorter form appearing twelve times. In *An.* the shorter form does not appear (*syḡ* of the MS., *An.* 1704, is manifestly to be read *syḡḡan*), though *sīḡḡan* is found twenty-two times. The phrase *sīḡ ond ær*, *sīḡ oḡḡe ær*, etc., occurs ten times in Cynewulf (*El.* four times, *Jul.* three times, and *Chr.* three times); but it does not occur once in *An.* On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Noted also by Fritzsche, p. 53.

the phrase *eft swā ær* is found three times in *An.*, but not at all in Cynewulf.

(g) *ācweðan* is found eight times in Cynewulf, — four times in *Jul.*, three in *Chr.*, once in *El.*; it does not occur in *An.* *Becweðan* occurs four times in *An.*, but does not appear in Cynewulf.

(h) *feor*, adj., occurs five times in *An.*, but as adjective the word is not found in Cynewulf.

(i) *geare*, adv., with the verbs *cunnan* and *witan*, does not occur in the positive in *An.*, and only once in the comparative, l. 932. In Cynewulf in such phrases the positive occurs nine times, the comparative twice, and the superlative once. The verbs *cunnan* and *witan* are, however, of frequent occurrence in *An.*

(j) The phrase *æfter þam (þyssum) wordum*, *An.* 88, 761, 1026, 1219 (cf. *æfter wordcwidum*, 1447), at the end of a passage of direct discourse, is not found in Cynewulf.<sup>1</sup> The poet of *An.* also had the habit of introducing speeches with the phrase *wordum cweðan*, 62, 173, 354, 539, or *worde cweðan*, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1206, 1280, 1450. This phrase is found only once in Cynewulf, *Jul.* 92: *worde cwæð*, as introductory to a passage of direct discourse. Other phrases, e.g. *wordum mælan*, *gesecgan*, *frignan*, are occasionally but infrequently used by both Cynewulf and the poet of *An.* The frequent use of *wordum*, *worde cweðan* must be counted a mannerism of *An.*

(5) Fritzsche, p. 50, points out that neither the word for Bible nor that for book occurs in *An.*; and that the poet nowhere alludes to any written sources. In this respect he is strikingly different from Cynewulf, who very frequently refers to sources; cf. *El.* 204, 290, 826, 1255; *Chr.* 453, 701, 785, 793. It is noteworthy that the poet of *Ap.* refers to his sources in the manner of Cynewulf; cf. *Ap.* 1-2, 23, 63, 70.

The similarity in style between *Andreas* and the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*, which to the early commentators seemed a strong argument for assigning *Andreas* to Cynewulf, cannot be allowed much weight in determining the question of authorship. That *Andreas* belongs to the general school of Cynewulfian poetry is evident. But when one recalls the very homogeneous character of the poetry of this school, — as homogeneous in its way as the poetry of the English Augustan period, — it will be seen that the same verse-form, similar subject matter, and similar general tone, might all be the common characteristics of a number of different poets.

A discriminating observation will, however, bring to light some important differences between *Andreas* and the other poems of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barnouw, p. 136.

Cynewulf group. Sarrazin,<sup>1</sup> bringing together all the parallelisms in expression which he could find between *Beowulf* and the Cynewulfian poems (including *Andreas*, *Guðlac*, *Phœnix*, and *Riddles*), attempts to establish a special connection between *Beowulf* and Cynewulf, — to prove, in short, that *Beowulf*, in its present form, was composed by Cynewulf. With this main purpose of Sarrazin we are at present not concerned.<sup>2</sup> It should be observed, however, how easily Sarrazin's argument for the Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas* may be turned against him. In *Elene* Sarrazin finds 37 parallels to *Beowulf*, in *Christ* 14, in *Juliana* 9, in *Guðlac* (both parts) 14, in *Phœnix* 7, in *Riddles* 14; but in *Andreas* alone he finds 68 parallels, and this number in his second study he increases to 180. The chief result, therefore, of Sarrazin's investigations, so far as *Andreas* is concerned, is to show that that poem occupies a peculiar position in the group of Cynewulfian poems, by reason of the fact that it has carried the systematic borrowing from *Beowulf* to a much greater extent than any other Cynewulfian poem. The argument which establishes this special relation between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* does so at the cost of separating *Andreas* from the other poems of the Cynewulf group — a conclusion which confirms Mather's observations on the metre of *Andreas*.

But the borrowings and adaptations of *Andreas* from the heroic verse are not only more numerous than in the poems of Cynewulf, they are also different in tone and feeling. The contrast between the language and phraseology of the heroic verse and the thought of the Christian legend is more violent in *Andreas* than in the poems of Cynewulf, — than it is even in *Elene*, the poem which, in this respect, stands nearest to *Andreas*. There is in general a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style in *Andreas*, which set that poem sharply off from the poems of Cynewulf.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 114 ff.; "Neue Beowulf-Studien," *Eng. Stud.* XXIII, 221-267.

<sup>2</sup> For some discussion of Sarrazin's argument from parallels, see Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* XIII, 472-480; Kail, *Angliā* XII, 21-40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, p. 424: "The constant use of phrases borrowed from *Beowulf*, from Cynewulf himself, the effort to be specially heroic in description, to import more of the heathen elements of Saga into a Christian song than even the *Elene* dared to do — the use of strange words, even the elaborate invention of words — point to a poet who was departing from a temperate style, and suggest, if they do not prove, that he [the author of *Andreas*] wrote at a time when Cynewulf was growing old."

It seems impossible, in the light of these considerations, to assign *Andreas* to Cynewulf. In its external history there is nothing to justify such a disposition of the poem, and in metre, language, and style it reveals characteristics that hold it distinctly apart from the assuredly genuine poems of Cynewulf. On the other hand, it is perhaps going too far absolutely to deny the poem to him; the evidence at present available does not justify so dogmatic an assertion. Without entering the field of merely possible hypothesis, we shall perhaps be going as far as our warrant permits if we say that the poem, although it follows the general traditions of Cynewulfian poetry, is too unlike *Christ*, *Juliana*, and *Elene* to be held in the same group with them.

## V

## POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS

*Andreas*, "the Christian *Beowulf*" as it has been called,<sup>1</sup> is representative of that group of Anglo-Saxon poems in which Christian themes are treated in the spirit of the secular, heroic poetry. Its great companion-piece in this group is *Elene*. The subject matter in both poems is late Christian legend, — in the one the adventures of Andrew and Matthew in the strange land of Mermedonia; in the other the story of St. Helena and her discovery of the Cross in distant Palestine. In spite of their subject, however, both are in spirit romantic stories of incident and adventure.<sup>2</sup>

The framework of the story of both poems was given in their sources, and, so far as the action is concerned, the authors show little or no power of invention. There is not a single incident in the action of *Andreas* which was not suggested by its source.<sup>3</sup> In his adaptation and elaboration of themes and allusions in his source, however, the author of *Andreas* was original. Such elaboration occurs chiefly in descriptions of nature, of towns and buildings, of spiritual struggles

<sup>1</sup> Garnett, *English Literature* I, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 376; *The Dark Ages*, pp. 263–264.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. xxi ff.; and for *Elene*, see Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 271–318; Holt-hausen, *Zft. f. deutsche Phil.* XXXVII, 1–19. Brooke, p. 424, remarks that "the writer of the *Andreas* has one power Cynewulf had not, inventiveness in incident"; and see further his remarks on p. 414 and p. 420.

conceived as actual battles, of the relations existing between lord and retainer; and it is by the effective use of details of this character that he has succeeded in transmuting the fantastic, Oriental situations of his original into a narrative of true English action and feeling.

The poem opens with the conventional formula of the epic, citing tradition as the source of the story, although it is all plainly of literary origin.<sup>1</sup> The heroic note is struck in the very opening lines, in the words with which the characters of the poem are designated. The apostles are the *begnas*, they constitute the *comitatus*, of the Lord, who is their prince and king.<sup>2</sup> This conception of a sort of theocratic kingdom parallel to human political institutions is consistently maintained in the various names which are applied to the Lord.<sup>3</sup> Christ, when distinguished from the Father, is the *Æðeling*, the son of the reigning Prince,<sup>4</sup> accused by Satan of being a usurper.<sup>5</sup> As their king the Lord commands the apostles to go wherever it is his will that they should go; and so it happens that Matthew suffers the hardest fate a retainer can suffer—he is sent into a strange land, away from the comfort and support of his lord.<sup>6</sup>

This relation of the Lord as commander, over-lord, and his followers as retainers, becomes structurally important in the body of the poem. On the one side are Andrew and his companions, who, with Matthew, are the Christian warriors, thanes, *folctogan*,<sup>7</sup> under the leadership of the Lord; on the other side are the warrior Mermedonians under the leadership of Satan.<sup>8</sup> By this device of dividing all the actors in the story into these two opposing camps the action of the whole poem is closely knit and unified. The story becomes thus one of the struggle between two organized forces, a story literally of the Christian warfare. When the heathen Mermedonians ride forth to the attack, they come with all the tumult and apparatus of battle, even though their foe is but a solitary person.<sup>9</sup> In other ways, also, this heroic conception of the action of the poem is kept in mind. When Andrew is in Satan's

<sup>1</sup> See l. 1, note.

<sup>2</sup> L. 3, note; cf. also 323–325; 726, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in the Andreas and Elene*, pp. 13, 21, for a list of them.

<sup>4</sup> 568, 649, 911.

<sup>5</sup> 680, note.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 5, 6; 11 ff.; note the stress placed on the fact that it was a strange land to which Matthew was sent, ll. 16, 24, 26, 63, etc., and in 189 ff. the extremely personal tone of Andrew's remonstrance when a similar journey is proposed to him. <sup>7</sup> L. 8. <sup>8</sup> See 43<sup>b</sup>; 141; 1170<sup>b</sup> (cf. 822<sup>b</sup>); 1296–1299; 1328 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See 45 ff.; 125 ff.; 138; 652 ff.; 1067 ff.; 1094 ff.; 1201 ff.; 1269 ff.

power, the latter exults over him much as a warrior might exult over his defeated foe ;<sup>1</sup> when the heathen are in distress they call a council, a *witenagemot*, to discuss affairs, just as a Saxon army might do under similar circumstances ;<sup>2</sup> when Andrew's companions are given the privilege of turning back from the journey they have undertaken, in the true spirit of the *comitatus* they prefer the risk of death to the disgrace of deserting their leader ;<sup>3</sup> and in bargaining with the disguised sailors Andrew speaks of paying them with gifts of rings,<sup>4</sup> and even of land,<sup>5</sup> as a Saxon prince might speak of rewarding his retainers.

*Andreas* also follows the traditions of native heroic verse in its dignified treatment and elaboration of allusions to cities and buildings.<sup>6</sup> With epic impartiality commendatory epithets are used even of the heathen city of the Mermedonians ; it is the *wīnburg*,<sup>7</sup> the *goldburg*,<sup>8</sup> the *wederburg*,<sup>9</sup> the *māran byrig*,<sup>10</sup> the *beorhtan byrig*,<sup>11</sup> the *breogostōl brēme*.<sup>12</sup> Bare allusions are also amplified into full descriptions. The brief statement of the prose version, which is here a literal translation of the Πράξεις, *bā se mergen geworden wæs, bā se hāliga Andreas licgende wæs beforan Marmadonia ceastre*,<sup>13</sup> becomes in *Andreas* the detailed description of ll. 831–846. In ll. 1155–1160 a description of grief and sorrow is emphasized by a picture of the city deserted and desolate ; a contrasting description of joy is given in ll. 1655–1657 and 1672–1673, with their picture of the gold-adorned hall of feasting. The passage ll. 1229–1236, with its description of the streets of the city, is elaborated from a bare allusion, in the prose merely *burh bisse ceastre lanan*.<sup>14</sup> Likewise ll. 773–778 (part of a connected passage omitted by the prose version, but see the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 82, l. 7) are, so far as the details are concerned, a poetic amplification of a colorless statement of the original. So also allusions to buildings in the city are elaborated. The prison in which Matthew is held, mentioned merely as *carcern* in the prose version,<sup>15</sup> is described in the corresponding passage of the poem<sup>16</sup> by the aid of various epithets. In this prison,

<sup>1</sup> 1315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 157 ; 1093 ff. ; 1161 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 396–414 ; see l. 3, note.

<sup>4</sup> L. 271 ; 302–303 ; 476.

<sup>5</sup> L. 303.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. l. 1236, note.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 1637, 1672.

<sup>8</sup> L. 1655.

<sup>9</sup> L. 1697.

<sup>10</sup> Ll. 40, 287, 973.

<sup>11</sup> L. 1649.

<sup>12</sup> L. 209.

<sup>13</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, ll. 14–15.

<sup>14</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 123, l. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Reader*, p. 120, l. 12.

<sup>16</sup> Ll. 1004–1008.

according to the prose version,<sup>1</sup> there stood a column, and upon the column a stone image. In the poem this single column is multiplied and magnified.<sup>2</sup> A similar heightening of an allusion of the original occurs in the mention of the ship in which Andrew sailed to Mermedonia.<sup>3</sup> The description of the temple in the poem<sup>4</sup> is part of a passage which is omitted by the prose version. The Greek version, however, in the corresponding passage says merely that the Lord entered a temple of the Gentiles, εἰς ἱερὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10). Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Jewish temple at Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> which he describes in the same terms that the author of the *Beowulf* uses in describing the great hall Heorot.<sup>6</sup>

Among the passages of the poem descriptive of natural phenomena, the epic elaborations of allusions to dawn<sup>7</sup> and to sunset and night<sup>8</sup> are noteworthy. Particularly interesting is the symbolic description in ll. 1253 ff., where the allusion to the night passes over into a description of the winter, the primitive mythic matter of night and winter being thus fused into one theme.

The most vivid and real descriptions of the poem are those of the sea, especially of the disturbed sea.<sup>9</sup> The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 369 ff. is noteworthy. The corresponding passage of the prose version says merely:  *Ic gesēo þæt þās brōðor synt geswencede of þisse sēwe hrēohnesse* (*Reader*, p. 117, ll. 4-5); and in the Greek version<sup>10</sup> it is made quite plain that the boat has not yet been cast off from land. In the Greek version and the prose the frightened disciples are offered the chance of leaving the ship before the voyage begins, whereas in *Andreas* the question of leaving the ship is not raised until the ship is on the open sea.<sup>11</sup> Somewhat similar and equally vigorous descriptions are the accounts of the water-flood on land<sup>12</sup> and of the circle of fire with which Andrew surrounds the city of the Mermedonians.<sup>13</sup> Several of the personifications in these sections of the poem are strikingly imaginative and vivid. Cold and frost are represented as hoary warriors

<sup>1</sup> *Reader*, p. 125, l. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1492-1495; the allusion to the image is omitted in the poem, perhaps because the columns were thought of as holding up the roof of the prison.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l. 240, note.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 666-669.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *tō þām cynestōle*, l. 666.

<sup>6</sup> See l. 668, note.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 123 ff.; 241 ff.; 835 ff.; 1268-1269; 1388.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 1253 ff.; 1304 ff.; 1456.

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 369 ff.; 435 ff.; 489 ff.; 511 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See l. 427, note.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ll. 397-398.

<sup>12</sup> Ll. 1522 ff. <sup>13</sup> Ll. 1540 ff.

stalking abroad at night.<sup>1</sup> The terror of the sea is imaginatively conceived as a power rising up from the sea in order to attack the occupants of the boat.<sup>2</sup> Hunger is figured, almost in the spirit of allegory, as a 'pale table-companion,'<sup>3</sup> and again as a grim scather of men;<sup>4</sup> and evil and hatred are personified as a fiery, consuming dragon.<sup>5</sup>

The passages of description and dialogue in the poem are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring. The descriptions of battles between Andrew and the Mermedonians have been already mentioned; an even more grotesque example is the description of the flood as a beer-feast.<sup>6</sup> The fire described in ll. 1540 ff., which in the Greek version is the conventional fiery cloud from heaven, becomes in the poem a conflagration such as must have been familiar to the inhabitants of the inflammable early Teutonic villages.<sup>7</sup> Some of the passages of dialogue, however, are charmingly naïve and fresh, as, for example, when Andrew attempts to evade the command which the Lord has laid upon him,<sup>8</sup> or bargains with the sailors concerning his passage-money,<sup>9</sup> or asks for lessons in sailing.<sup>10</sup>

In determining the extent to which *Andreas* was indebted to specific Anglo-Saxon poems, the first place must be given to *Beowulf*. Not only are phrases and words borrowed liberally, but general situations are made to recall those of the earlier poem. The whole narrative framework of *Andreas* plainly suggests the first part of *Beowulf*. (Andrew's mission to the Mermedonians is parallel to that of Beowulf to the Danes; the elaboration of the sea voyage in *Andreas* is evidently due to recollections of Beowulf's journey; Andrew performs his task of cleansing the heathen land of the Mermedonians from the sin of cannibalism, and Beowulf cleanses the great hall Heorot of the man-eating monster Grendel; both heroes, their work being finished, return to the land from which they set out.)

These general similarities in situation are made more striking by frequent parallelism of phrasing between the two poems, as though

<sup>1</sup> L. 1258.      <sup>2</sup> Ll. 442-445, and cf. note to ll. 444-445.      <sup>3</sup> L. 1088.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1115. It is particularly interesting to compare these personifications of famine with *El.* 691, where night, hunger, and a prison-house, three themes that always stirred the imagination of the poet of *Andreas*, are mentioned in a perfectly colorless way characteristic of the difference between the two poems.

<sup>5</sup> L. 769, and note.      <sup>6</sup> Ll. 1532 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 190-201.

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 471 ff.

<sup>10</sup> L. 485.



the author, regarding his hero as another Beowulf, strove as much as possible to tell his story in the same language as the story of Beowulf.<sup>1</sup> After *Beowulf*, the poems which show the closest affinity to *Andreas* are the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*,<sup>2</sup> *Christ*,<sup>3</sup> *Guthlac*,<sup>4</sup> and *Juliana*.<sup>5</sup> Of these four poems *Elene* offers the largest number of

<sup>1</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 1, 3, 8, 24, 25, 43, 45, 51, 64, 72, 106, 116, 123, 127, 128, 150, 151, 152, 154, 180-181, 208, 223, 230, 235, 240, 242, 259, 265, 267, 273, 301, 302, 310, 316, 320-323, 324, 333, 348, 358, 360, 366, 370, 371, 377-380, 393, 414, 421, 425-426, 429, 439, 454, 458-460, 464, 474-476, 493-495, 497, 511, 541, 553-554, 558, 591, 600, 620, 622, 668, 698, 706-707, 732, 769, 784, 803, 818, 824, 834, 837, 840, 841, 843, 845, 850, 914, 932, 940, 963, 982, 985, 988, 994, 1002, 1012, 1013, 1037, 1046, 1074, 1085, 1097, 1115-1116, 1132, 1137-1138, 1140, 1155, 1188, 1191, 1198, 1208, 1227, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1254, 1269-1270, 1275, 1305, 1312, 1324, 1351, 1359, 1393, 1447, 1469, 1481-1482, 1490-1495, 1526, 1531, 1538, 1542, 1547, 1548, 1555-1556, 1557, 1563, 1565, 1574, 1589, 1599, 1612, 1616, 1619, 1626, 1627, 1667, 1694-1695, 1722. See Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, for a discussion showing that the borrowing was by *Andreas* from *Beowulf*, not, as Sarrazin would have it, by *Beowulf* from *Andreas*.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Elene* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 10, 31, 39, 40-41, 62, 65-66, 70-71, 95, 106, 123, 133, 140, 204, 223, 235, 237, 265, 302, 360, 395, 410, 416, 458, 470, 485, 523, 544, 557, 564, 568, 569, 573, 583, 585, 588, 595-596, 602, 605, 606, 631, 645, 646, 672, 684, 688, 693, 718-724, 728, 736, 742, 750, 752, 770, 784, 788, 805, 832, 834, 852, 876, 892, 915, 932, 963, 967, 988, 1002, 1008, 1015, 1035, 1046, 1056, 1059, 1087, 1144, 1156, 1157-1158, 1165, 1166, 1202, 1204, 1242, 1243, 1251, 1271, 1278, 1312, 1313, 1326-1327, 1351, 1355, 1379, 1481-1482, 1491, 1511, 1520, 1535, 1538, 1542, 1618, 1627, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1643, 1649, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1698, 1699, 1709.

<sup>3</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 33-34, 36, 50, 54, 59, 99, 104, 105, 111, 130, 139, 190, 198, 201, 206, 227, 228-229, 242, 253, 313, 323, 332-339, 367, 394, 408-409, 425-426, 501-502, 523, 525, 541, 564, 567, 576, 580, 585, 599, 606, 630, 640, 661, 671, 717, 721, 746, 747, 759, 776, 789, 795, 798, 800, 810, 814, 830, 832, 845, 868, 874, 938, 939, 967, 968-969, 975, 978, 979, 988, 1005, 1010, 1013, 1037, 1059, 1069, 1085, 1087, 1144, 1166, 1169, 1204, 1207, 1278, 1291, 1340, 1436, 1486, 1511, 1548, 1549, 1555, 1557, 1563, 1603, 1610, 1619, 1633, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1685, 1686, 1709.

<sup>4</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 8, 25, 31, 88, 89, 105, 113, 116, 140, 164, 167, 190, 228-229, 233, 294-295, 300, 335, 387, 395, 463, 544, 558, 568, 569, 594, 602, 626, 642, 654, 721, 776, 781, 808, 810, 818, 824, 836, 837, 887, 910, 938, 970, 991, 1001, 1010, 1072-1074, 1107, 1112, 1144, 1210, 1227, 1239, 1243, 1254, 1266, 1278, 1284-1286, 1294, 1296, 1334-1335, 1361, 1476, 1481-1482, 1549, 1579, 1581, 1618, 1637, 1645, 1685, 1696, 1699, 1709.

<sup>5</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 52, 53, 57-58, 82, 92-93, 140, 179, 184, 195, 217, 237, 327, 470, 493-495, 524, 528, 556, 605, 611,

parallels to *Andreas*, but the parallels to the other poems prove that they must all have been very familiar to the author of *Andreas*. The parallels between *Andreas* and *Juliana*, though fewer in number than the parallels between *Andreas* and any of the other three poems, are particularly interesting, since the evidences of borrowing on the part of *Andreas* are clearer there than in the case of any other poem except *Beowulf*. Besides the Cynewulfian poems and *Beowulf*, almost every other Anglo-Saxon poem of any length contains a number of phrases which are also found in *Andreas*; but these parallels are sporadic, and, though they indicate the wide acquaintanceship of the author of *Andreas* with the traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, they do not prove any special dependence of *Andreas* upon other poems, nor any closer relationship than is perhaps usual and normal.

Besides these amplifying passages and reminiscences taken from the literary traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, there are also in *Andreas* numerous additions of passages of religious color, chiefly recollections from the Bible or homiletic literature. References to the Deity are amplified by allusions to his attributes and powers and to the creation;<sup>1</sup> and the mention of heaven naturally suggests the description of the joys of heaven,<sup>2</sup> or of hell, the tortures of hell.<sup>3</sup> Occasional passages of hymnic character are also developed.<sup>4</sup> Most frequently, however, the additions consist of illustrative quotations from the Bible, the explanation of a proper name,<sup>5</sup> the amplification of an allusion already contained in the original,<sup>6</sup> as, for example, an allusion to the resurrection,<sup>7</sup> to the temple,<sup>8</sup> or to the crucifixion.<sup>9</sup> The allusion to idols and the heathen temple in ll. 1687-1694 is all the addition of the poet. The story of the fall of Satan and his imprisonment in hell was familiar to the poet.<sup>10</sup> Other references derived from ecclesiastical tradition are

695, 734, 746, 755, 792, 805, 806, 807, 845, 861, 873, 887, 932, 978, 979, 994, 1071, 1075-1077, 1086, 1127, 1144, 1166, 1180, 1197, 1223, 1238, 1242, 1288, 1310, 1313, 1315, 1319, 1326-1327, 1328-1329, 1342, 1355, 1415, 1436, 1461, 1462-1463, 1469-1477, 1470, 1486, 1548, 1558-1559, 1579, 1618, 1619, 1629, 1684, 1690.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ll. 161-162, 324-329, 518-525, 535-536, 541-548, 747-750, 996-999, 1680 ff.; and see Fritzsche, p. 24; Ramhorst, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 102-106, 225-229, 597-600, 807-810, 869-874, 977-980, 1152-1156.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1190-1194, 1377-1385.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 640-643.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 540-548, 1284-1295.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 666 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 12-13, 757, note; 879, note.

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 960 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 332-339, note; 1418-1424, note.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ll. 1190 ff., 1377 ff., 1701 ff.

those to the Cherubim and Seraphim,<sup>1</sup> and to Ethiopia as the seat of Matthew's labors.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the passages of this nature are remarkable for an apparent ignorance or misunderstanding of Biblical allusions. Thus in ll. 165-166, an addition of the poem, the three synonymous words *Ebrēum*, *Israhēlum*, and *Iūdēa* are apparently understood by the poet as meaning three different peoples. The statement of ll. 582-584 is not literally in accord with the New Testament narrative, as Christ raised only Lazarus, the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus' daughter from the dead; perhaps the poet may have had the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in mind. The statement of l. 1324, that Christ was put to death by Herod, shows an astonishing ignorance of the story of the crucifixion. Herod is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of the prose;<sup>3</sup> but in the Greek version<sup>4</sup> the manuscripts vary, some reading as *Andreas*, others adding the name of John as the one put to death by Herod; and still others read Pilate for Herod. But for the introduction of the names Joshua and Tobias,<sup>5</sup> in connection with the story of the Commandments, there is no authority either in the Anglo-Saxon prose version or in any of the manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. The names appear to be inserted arbitrarily from the chance recollection of the poet. On the other hand, in l. 778 ff. the poem appears to correct its source. In the Greek version<sup>6</sup> the twelve patriarchs are said to be buried in Machpelah, although the Old Testament does not state that any of them was buried there, and one, Joseph,<sup>7</sup> was certainly buried elsewhere. The poet speaks only of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all of whom were buried in Machpelah.

With the exception of one brief, colorless passage,<sup>8</sup> the poet nowhere in the poem alludes to himself or to his own experiences.

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 717-726, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> L. 432, note.

<sup>3</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, p. 105, l. 3.

<sup>5</sup> L. 1516.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet, p. 83, l. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Josh.* XXIV, 32.

<sup>8</sup> 1478-1479.

## VI

## THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW

The story of the Twelve Apostles, as it is presented in the New Testament, offered a peculiarly inviting field to the imagination of the apocryphal elaborator. The Apostles, who during the lifetime of their Lord were his immediate personal followers, were commissioned after his death to go as witnesses "unto the uttermost parts of the earth."<sup>1</sup> Of these various missions, however, little further is said. Some of the acts of Peter, Paul, John, and James son of Zebedee, are briefly narrated; but concerning Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Simon Zelotes, Judas brother of James, Matthew, Bartholomew, James son of Alpheus, and Matthias, aside from a few general allusions to the Apostles as a whole, the New Testament records are almost completely silent.<sup>2</sup>

But since the command had been given to the Apostles to go and teach all nations,<sup>3</sup> what more natural than the attempt to discover the country to which each apostle was sent? Thus as early as the second century<sup>4</sup> arose the legend of the *Lots of the Apostles*, the *Sortes Apostolorum*. According to this legend the Apostles cast lots among themselves that each might know the country into which he was to go and teach, and in accordance with these lots they set out on their various ways. This legend is frequently found as the opening passage of the apocryphal acts of the Apostles.<sup>5</sup> In course of time it became an unquestioned part of church tradition, acquiring, like the Apostles' Creed, almost the same reverence as that accorded to the true canon.<sup>6</sup> To this account of the dispersion of the Apostles to all lands brief notices were later added concerning their activity and death in their respective countries, and thus arose the type of narrative represented by the Anglo-Saxon *Fates of the Apostles*.

This legend of the dispersion of the Apostles was only the beginning of a great cycle of romantic, apocryphal tradition, which, taking up the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts* I, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Newman, *Parochial Sermons* I, 209-215 (New York, 1843), for a connected survey of all the allusions to Andrew in the New Testament.

<sup>3</sup> *Matt.* XXVIII, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Lipsius, I, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the opening lines of *Andreas*; and see Lipsius, I, 11-13, for other examples.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 1; cites the legend as authority for the various lands in which the Apostles labored.

life of each Apostle in turn, made it the center of a comprehensive history, much as in later times certain of Charlemagne's *doze per* became heroes of special separate narratives. The materials for these apocryphal lives, which passed under the name of the acts (Πράξεις), or the journeys (Περίοδοι), or the miracles (Θαύματα), or the martyrdom (Μαρτύριον, Τελείωσις), of the respective Apostles, were sometimes derived from local tradition — usually the attempt to trace back some foundation to apostolic times, as e.g. the foundation of the church at Constantinople, ascribed to St. Andrew, or of the church at Rome, ascribed to St. Peter. Often old tales were used to carry certain doctrinal and partisan views; and doubtless often the stories were merely the expression of the romantic imagination of the faithful. In general the tone of all these compositions is extremely popular.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these lives were not originally intended, however, to be merely entertaining. More or less heretical in their origins, they were devised to spread heretical (chiefly Gnostic) beliefs and customs within the boundaries of the church. Their composition came gradually to be ascribed to one Leucius Charinus, *discipulus diaboli* as he is called in the *Decretal* of Gelasius,<sup>2</sup> a name which is frequently met with in the writings of the fathers from the fifth century on, always accompanied by the accusation of heretical teaching.<sup>3</sup> But the composition of the lives themselves must have been a slow and cumulative process, and the name Leucius Charinus was merely the peg on which a number of unattached histories were hung. The book of which Leucius Charinus thus became the traditional author appears to have grown until it finally included the acts of all Twelve Apostles. Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, ca. 981) criticises in detail a collection containing acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and mentions as current among heretics a collection of the acts of all Twelve Apostles.<sup>4</sup> Acts of all the five Apostles mentioned by Photius have been preserved to the present day, and fragments of acts of Philip and of Matthew have been found; but of the acts of the remaining Apostles nothing can be determined with certainty.

<sup>1</sup> See Lipsius, I, 7-8; von Dobschütz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur," in *Deutsche Rundschau* CXI, 87-106 (April, 1902), for a general summary of the characteristics of these legends.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* I.IX, 162.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lipsius, I, 44 ff., for a detailed, and Harnack, p. 116 ff., for a briefer, discussion of this character.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lipsius, I, 73.

The earliest trace of special acts of Andrew is contained in a passage of Eusebius (ca. 265–340),<sup>1</sup> who characterizes them, among various other apocryphal writings, as the fictions (ἀναπλάσματα) of heretics. From this time on there are frequent allusions to acts of Andrew, proving beyond question that well-known acts of Andrew, which bore originally a strong heretical coloring, must have been in existence as early as the beginning of the fourth-century. Of these acts, however, only the later Catholic revisions have been preserved, as is the case with all the other apocryphal acts of the Apostles that have come down to us. These later redactions fall into two distinct groups, one relating the acts of Andrew in the lands about the Black Sea, the other his acts in Greece. Without attempting to reconstruct the earlier comprehensive narrative of the acts of Andrew of which these later versions are probably the fragmentary survivals,<sup>2</sup> or to recount the numerous documents in the various languages in which these survivals have been preserved, we shall endeavor to show the connection between the two groups of acts, and, at the same time, to point out the probable ultimate origin of the legend of Andrew in the story of his activity in the regions about the Black Sea.

The first group of acts, those which relate Andrew's adventures in the lands about the Black Sea, consists of two parts. The first part, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*,<sup>3</sup> tells the story of the imprisonment of Matthew by the *anthropophagi*, the freeing of Matthew by Andrew, and the conversion of the *anthropophagi* by Andrew. The second part, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*,<sup>4</sup> is a continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*. In the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* (Πράξεις, chap. 21), after Matthew has been released from prison he and his two disciples are taken up in a cloud and are conveyed to the mountain where Peter is then teaching, where they remain. When the time comes for him to leave the city of the *anthropophagi*, Andrew declares his intention of going to his disciples (chap. 32), and the Lord, in rebuking Andrew (chap. 33), tells him

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 25; Fabricius, II, 747 ff., quotes in full all the early allusions to acts of Andrew.

<sup>2</sup> See Lipsius, I, 545 ff., for such an attempt.

<sup>3</sup> For bibliographical references, see above, p. xxi, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Printed fragmentarily by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 161 ff., more fully by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, pp. 117–127. Cf. Lipsius, I, 553 ff., for an abstract of the contents of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*.

that after seven days Andrew shall seek his disciples and go away with them to the city of the barbarians (εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν βαρβάρων, Bonnet, p. 116, l. 1). At the opening of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, we are told that after Andrew left the city of the *anthropophagi* he was taken up in a cloud and carried to the mountain where were Peter, Matthew, and Matthew's two disciples, here named Alexander and Rufus. The land in which this meeting takes place is no longer the land of the *anthropophagi*, but the land of the barbarians, to the inhabitants of which Andrew is commissioned to preach. After Andrew has related his experiences in the city of the *anthropophagi* Christ appears to the Apostles in the form of a boy and commands them to go to the city of the barbarians. They set out and on their way meet with a man plowing beside the road. They ask him for bread, with the intention of reading in his willingness or unwillingness to comply with their request an omen, good or evil, of their activity in the city of the barbarians. The man declares himself willing to give them bread; but, as he has none at hand, he entrusts his field and oxen to their care while he goes to the city to procure it. During his absence the apostles plow and sow the field with seed, which immediately springs up and ripens into an abundant harvest. When the plowman returns and sees what has been done in his absence he falls at the feet of the Apostles and is converted. He carries the wonderful news to the city, bearing a sheaf of the miraculous grain with him, and prepares his house for the reception of the Apostles. But Satan enters the hearts of the elders of the city and they determine to forbid entrance to the Apostles. Having heard of the Apostles' abhorrence of immodesty, they disrobe a harlot and place her before the gates of the city. When the Apostles reach the city, at the prayer of Andrew the harlot is carried up into the air by the Archangel Michael, where she remains hovering above the heads of the people. As a result of this miracle many are converted; the Apostles enter the city, preach, work miracles, and establish churches. The concluding episode of the *Acts* tells how Onesiphoros, a rich citizen of the city of the barbarians, is converted through receiving the power of making a camel pass through the eye of a needle. The Apostles then continue their travels, bearing with them the blessings of the newly converted.

There can be no doubt that in these *Acts of Peter and Andrew* we have a fragment of the older Περίοδοι Ἀνδρείου connecting immediately with the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*.



The two combined, however, must have constituted only part of a larger life of Andrew, since the narrative is manifestly unfinished at the conclusion of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. For a complete synthetic survey of the life and acts of Andrew, we must turn to the narrative of the acts of Andrew in Greece.

For this second group of the acts of Andrew we are dependent upon more thoroughgoing Catholic revisions of material taken from the older *Περίοδοι*. The narrative is preserved in various versions in Greek,<sup>1</sup> and in a Latin version,<sup>2</sup> entitled *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, which forms part of the so-called Abdias collection.<sup>3</sup> The narrative in these versions gives a connected survey of the whole life of St. Andrew. After a brief summary of the passages in which Andrew is mentioned in the New Testament, the Abdias text begins with an account of the acts of Andrew in the country of the *anthropophagi*. Having received Achaia as his province, Andrew sets sail from his country, Achaia, for the city of the *anthropophagi*, here named Mermedonia, in order to free his brother Matthew from prison. The journey to Mermedonia and Andrew's acts among the *anthropophagi* are narrated very briefly, and nothing whatever is said about the continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. Andrew's return journey to Achaia, however, is given in great detail. The places through which he passes are Amaseia, Sinope, Nicaea, Nicomedia; then, crossing the Hellespont, he reaches Byzantium, passes through Thrace and the city Perinthus, through Macedonia and the cities Philippi and Thessalonica, at all of which places he performs numerous miracles.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 105 ff., and by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, p. 1 ff. For a description of these versions, see Lipsius, I, 140, 545-6, and Bonnet, *Praefatio*, xi ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, II, 456-515. A somewhat compressed version of the narrative as it is given in Fabricius is found in the work of Gregory of Tours entitled *De miraculis beati Andreae* (Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LXXI, Col. 1099). Gregory announces in a prologue to his narrative that he has revised an earlier work on St. Andrew because of its verbosity; Lipsius, I, 138, thinks it probable that the Fabricius text was the one which Gregory revised.

<sup>3</sup> This work, which purports to have been written first in Hebrew by Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, to have been then translated into Greek by Abdias' disciple Eutropius, and then into Latin by one Africanus, was most certainly (according to Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. Abdias) written in Latin and originally in Western Europe. Sometime after 524 A.D. is assigned as the date of its composition.



He finally reaches Patras in Achaia, the scene of his last labors. Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Aegeates, lies sick of a fever, and her servant Ephidama, one of the faithful, calls upon the Apostle for help. Andrew restores Maximilla to health but refuses Aegeates' offer of money in payment of his services. Soon after this the brother of the proconsul, Stratocles, arrives from Italy, and Andrew relieves his favorite attendant, a boy named Alcman, from the torments of demons that afflict him. As a result of these miracles Maximilla is converted and, during the absence of Aegeates, grants the Apostle permission to preach in the praetorium. Aegeates, unexpectedly returning, is prevented through the prayer of Andrew from appearing in the praetorium until after Andrew has blessed and dismissed his audience. Maximilla more and more frequently comes to the Apostle in order to hear his words of instruction, and in the end takes upon herself the vow of chastity. Angered at this, Aegeates seizes Andrew and casts him into prison. On the following day he ascends the judgment-seat and, having summoned Andrew before him, commands him to cease from his foolish and superstitious<sup>1</sup> teachings. Upon Andrew's refusal Aegeates sentences him to three times seven strokes, and delivers him over to be bound, but not nailed,<sup>2</sup> hand and foot to the cross. The people, enraged at the action of Aegeates, are restrained by Andrew from injuring the proconsul. Andrew, after addressing the cross as the goal of his expectations, is bound upon it by the servants of Aegeates. For a day and a night he preached uninterruptedly from the cross. On the following day Aegeates yields to the request of the people and prepares to release his victim. Aegeates himself comes to the cross, but Andrew is willing to die, and, after prayer, rejoicing and glorifying the Lord, he gives up the spirit.

The body of the saint, which remained uncorrupted, is buried by Maximilla. Aegeates, seized by a demon, precipitates himself from a high place and is killed. Stratocles, his brother, who had embraced the true faith, refuses the succession to his brother's riches, declaring that all things that were his should perish with him. The 30th of November is given as the day on which Andrew died.

The redaction of Gregory of Tours<sup>3</sup> adds, at the conclusion of the narrative, an account of the miracle which occurs at the grave of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vana et superstitiosa*, Fabricius, II, 510.

<sup>2</sup> *Ligatis manibus et pedibus et non clavis affixus*, Fabricius, II, 511.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiii, note 2.

Apostle: manna and fragrant oil flow from the grave, and the greater or less abundance of the manna and the oil foretell the prosperity of the year to come. In some years there is such an abundance of oil that it flows to the middle of the church, which is dedicated to the Apostle.<sup>1</sup>

The question of the relation of these two groups of acts to each other must next engage our attention. The narrative preserved in the pseudo-Abdias reveals a larger general plan and a completer unification of material than the two sections of the acts of Andrew constituting the first group. Are the two fragmentary narratives therefore to be regarded as dissociated parts of a more completely unified and larger whole, represented by the version of the pseudo-Abdias? Or is the Abdias version, made up chiefly of the story of Andrew's activity in Greece, which is relatively of late date and is decidedly more conventional and literary in tone than the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and the barbarians, a development of an earlier form represented in part by the two fragments? The question is of interest, because, in answering it, it will be necessary to go back to the first elements of the legend of Andrew and to determine from what germ the whole great series of his acts sprang.

The earliest traditions agree in assigning Scythia (instead of Achaia) to Andrew as his special province. Thus Eusebius<sup>2</sup> mentions only Scythia (Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν) as the scene of Andrew's labors. It is only in the later accounts (as the relatively late Abdias) that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with Scythia. Now Scythia was in ancient times a term of very wide application; it meant no single group of people usually, but was the general name for the country of the numerous tribes that occupied the lands about the Black Sea. To the Greek the word was a synonym for all that was wild and barbarous. Certain Scythian tribes

<sup>1</sup> Two other synthetic lives of Andrew, although in the progress of the events narrated they resemble the Abdias text, in detail are frequently fuller and occasionally appear to preserve more original passages than the Abdias. These lives are (1) the work of Epiphanius, the monk, *Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τέλους Ἀνδρέου*, most accessible in Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca* CXX, 216 ff.; Migne adds a Latin translation of the Greek; (2) a work by an unknown author, *Πράξεις καὶ περίοδοι τοῦ Ἀνδρέου ἐγκωμίῳ συμπεπλεγμέναι*, edited by Bonnet, *Acta Andreae cum laudatione contexta*, pp. 3-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 1.

were known as cannibals, Aristotle<sup>1</sup> mentioning in particular the Achaei and the Heniochi. Strabo,<sup>2</sup> though he does not speak of them as cannibals, describes these tribes as pirates and robbers. The three tribes, the Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi, he says, subsist by piracy. Their boats are slender, narrow, light, and capable of holding about twenty-five men, rarely thirty. He mentions the tradition that at the time of the expedition of Jason, the Achaei Phthiotae founded the Achaia in Scythia, and the Lacedaemonians Heniochia. Their leaders are said to have been Rhecas and Amphistratus, the charioteers (ἡνίοχοι) of the Dioscuri; and the Heniochi are supposed to have derived their name from these persons. Strabo also describes the manner of warfare of these tribes: they were accustomed to make swift descents in their light boats upon the neighboring countries for the purpose of capturing the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery.<sup>3</sup>

It is in some such country as this described by Aristotle and Strabo that we must suppose the action of at least the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* to have taken place. The assigning of these acts to Scythia is strikingly confirmed by the identification of the city of the *anthropophagi*. This city, which is not specifically named in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* or the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, appears in the Anglo-Saxon versions as Mermadonia (Marmadonia), in the Abdias text as Myrmidon or Myrmidona, in the *Martyrium Matthaei*<sup>4</sup> as Μύρην τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, in the *Martyrium Andreae*<sup>5</sup> as τὴν Μυρμηνίδα πόλιν, and in the *Legenda Aurea*<sup>6</sup> in the corrupt form Margundia. This city has been plausibly identified by Gutschmid<sup>7</sup> with the city of the Tauric Chersonese<sup>8</sup> mentioned in Strabo<sup>9</sup> as πολίχνιον Μυρμήκιον, "a small city, 20 stadia

<sup>1</sup> *Politica* VIII, iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Geographica*, ed. Meineke, II, 696.

<sup>3</sup> Gutschmid, p. 382, calls attention to the similarity between this account of the custom of these tribes and the resolution of the *anthropophagi*, Πράξεις, chap. 22 (Bonnet, pp. 94–97), to send out their young men in boats in order to secure victims to replace those that had been taken from them by Andrew.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 220.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Graesse, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> P. 383.

<sup>8</sup> More exactly, the Trachean Chersonese. Cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas von Hellas und den hellenischen Colonien*, plate X. The city is indicated here on the special map of the Kimmerian Bosphorus.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Meineke, II, 426, l. 18. For other forms of the name, see Gutschmid, p. 383.

from Panticapaeum and 40 stadia from Parthenium." From a form of this name *Μυρμήκιον* or *Μυρμηκιών*, through a probable *Myrmiciona*, was undoubtedly derived the later form *Myrmidona*, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon version as *Mermedonia*.<sup>1</sup>

If, then, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* are to be placed in Scythia, Andrew's province, and if these acts are to be regarded as parts of the older comprehensive life of the Apostle, it becomes necessary to explain the connection between these acts and the acts and martyrdom of Andrew in Greece. According to the plausible theory of Lipsius<sup>2</sup> the whole series of the acts of Andrew in Greece is due to a traditional confusion of the Achaians of the east coast of the Black Sea with the Achaians of the northern part of the Peloponnesus in Greece. That the confusion was a natural and probable one is evident from Strabo's attempt to account for the presence of a tribe bearing the name of Achaians in Scythia on the assumption of a colony from the well-known Achaia of his own country. The less-known country being thus replaced by the better-known, the martyrdom of Andrew was readily placed at Patras, the chief seaport of the Greek Achaia.<sup>3</sup> This confusion probably took place in popular tradition before the writer of the synthetic life of Andrew (of which the pseudo-Abdias is one representative) gathered together the materials for his work. In order to connect the two widely separated scenes of action, Myrmecium in the Tauric Chersonese and Patras in Achaia, it became necessary to develop the journey of Andrew from the one place to the other. It is noteworthy that the episodes of the acts of Andrew in Greece and the story of his martyrdom at Patras betray a much more conventional and literary tone than the episodes of the two earlier narratives. The former are such as might be drawn from the inexhaustible supply of ecclesiastical legends and fitted to any character. On the other hand, the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi*, and that of Andrew and Peter among the barbarians, are distinctly

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the analogy of Greek *Μυρμιδόνες* aided in the change from *Μυρμήκιον* to *Myrmidona*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> Across the straits of the Bosphorus and not far from Myrmecium, according to Strabo, II, 694, l. 8, was the town *Patraios* (modern Ada); cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas*, plate X. Perhaps the similarity of this name to the name of the city in the Greek Achaia may have aided in the confusion of the two countries; the martyrdom of Andrew in the older narratives may even have been placed at the *Scythian Patraios*.

in the tone of the popular legend, and it is probably to these traditional acts of Andrew in the cannibal city that we must look to find the origin and the center of the whole great cycle of his acts. The ultimate source from which the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* sprang Gutschmid<sup>1</sup> regards as twofold: (1) traditions derived from the first Greek colonists of the lands about the Black Sea, which told of their struggles with the barbarous natives; (2) sailor stories, as e.g. reminiscences of the *Odyssey* and the fourth journey of Sindbad the Sailor, in the *Arabian Nights*, where also the *anthropophagi* place strange herbs before their prisoners in order to take away their reason, and pasture them like animals until they are fat enough to be eaten.<sup>2</sup>

The later development in western Europe of the Oriental story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and among the barbarians was, in general, in the direction of repression in order to bring it more into harmony with western taste. The story was thus gradually revised and pruned until practically the whole of the adventure in the land of the *anthropophagi* was eliminated. This tendency is already plainly visible in the pseudo-Abdias and in Gregory of Tours, where the more conventional miracles of Andrew in Greece are elaborated at the expense of the original, more fantastic elements of the story. This process of conventionalization was continued until in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, the work which above all others served as a source to the later mediæval writers of legendaries, the acts of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* are passed over with a few bare, general allusions. So successful were the fathers in their endeavors to destroy or to conventionalize their inheritance of extravagant apocryphal literature that neither in Latin, the common language of western Europe, nor in any of the vernacular dialects except English, has a single copy of the early form of the legend of Andrew, his acts among the *anthropophagi*, escaped their vigilance. And in England also, when in the Middle English period the legend of St. Andrew again supplies the poet with matter for the exercise of his art,<sup>3</sup> the old romantic version is forgotten,

<sup>1</sup> P. 385. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* I, 409, thinks the story may have taken form at Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* V, 180-192. London, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, pp. 3-10; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect* I, 63-96; *Cursor Mundi* III, 1200-1201. See also Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae*, p. 21.

and in its place appears the simplified and conventionalized Latin version in the form in which it is fixed in the *Legenda Aurea* and common to the whole of western Europe.<sup>1</sup>

A few words may be added concerning the cult of St. Andrew in Great Britain. As the favorite saint of Gregory, St. Andrew must have made a particular appeal to the veneration of the English. Gregory, it will be remembered, when he withdrew from the world, gave all his wealth for the purpose of endowing six new monasteries in Sicily, and in his own palace on the Coelian hill in Rome, he established a seventh, dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself became a monk.<sup>2</sup> This monastery he is said to have enriched with certain relics of St. Andrew, presented to him by the Emperor Tiberius at the close of his term of office as *apocrisiarius*, or papal nuncio, at the Byzantine court.<sup>3</sup> When, after his elevation to the papacy, he seriously undertook the task of converting the English, it was from this monastery that he chose Augustine and his followers as directors of the mission.<sup>4</sup> Augustine's first church was appropriately dedicated to Christ, the Savior,<sup>5</sup> but one of the earliest churches founded as a result of Augustine's teaching was the church at Rochester, of which Justus became first bishop in 604. This church was built by King Æthelbert, and was dedicated, most likely in honor of the Roman missionaries, to St. Andrew.<sup>6</sup> Together with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew was also chosen as patron saint of the church at Medeshamsted, the later Peterborough, founded in 656.<sup>7</sup>

More important, however, is the position accorded to St. Andrew in the Northern church. At Hexham, Wilfrid, the famous bishop of York,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the conservatism of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon church in preserving apocryphal literature after it had been generally given up by the western church, see Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *The Monks of the West* II, 14; according to Montalembert this monastery now bears the name of St. Gregory; Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (3d ed.), pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 12; and John, Third Marquess of Bute, *Essays on Foreign Subjects*, "The Last Resting Place of St. Andrew," p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bede, Vol. I, p. 85, ed. Plummer, II, 3. Bede also tells us that in the sacristy of this church Paulinus was buried (III, 14, Plummer, I, 154). It is uncertain whether Rochester or London may claim the distinction of being the second oldest of English bishoprics; cf. Palmer, *The Cathedral Church of Rochester*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Chronicle, Laud MS.*, for 656.

built a church which was one of the marvels of his time ; none like it, men said, was to be seen on this side of the Alps.<sup>1</sup> This church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and, as we learn from the following account of its foundation in *Prior Richard's History of the Church at Hexham*, cap. 3,<sup>2</sup> the dedication was in recognition of help received by Wilfrid from the saint :

Sanctus igitur Wilfridus, circa Dominicae Incarnationis annum DCLXXIII<sup>m</sup>, et aetatis suae quasi quadragesimum, et episcopatus sui quasi decimum, et regni Ecfredi quasi quartum, in praedicta villa ecclesiam in honorem Dei et Sancti Andreae Apostoli, ad rependendum beneficium quod ejus intercessionem consecutus est, artificiosissima structura construxit. Nam cum primo Romam venisset, ejus ecclesiam frequentans, de remissione peccatorum suorum, pro qua instantius orabat, per hoc certificari postulabat, si de ingenii sui tarditate, et linguae suae rusticitate, ipsius interventu, absolvi mereretur. Nec mora : precibus dilecti Apostoli sui, tantam gratiam fidei suo contulit propitia Dei bonitas, ut ad quaelibet discenda promptissimam ingenii vivacitatem, et ad quaelibet intellecta explicanda congruam sermonis faecunditatem se habere sentiret, ut postea per innumerabilium animarum salutem, quas Deo lucratus est, efficacissime in sancta ecclesia claruit.

This church, built between the years 672 and 678,<sup>3</sup> was under the control of Wilfrid until his death in 709, with occasional interruptions, however, incident to the storminess of his career. At his death Wilfrid was succeeded by Acca, his friend and the companion of his many wanderings. Acca continued Wilfrid's efforts towards beautifying and enriching the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. Living at Hexham he was of course a near neighbor of Bede's, and the close friendship existing between the two is attested by frequent allusions to Acca in Bede's writings.<sup>4</sup> In his *Ecclesiastical History* Bede gives the following interesting account of the nature of Acca's labors at Hexham :

Suscepit vero pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus ; qui et ipsius ecclesiae suae, quae in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit,<sup>5</sup> ut adquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi, in venerationem illorum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plummer's *Bede* II, 329.

<sup>5</sup> Acca was bishop of Hexham in 731, the year Bede finished his history.



poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae, sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, nec non et vasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime paravit.<sup>1</sup>

Wilfrid and Acca in their wide journeyings must have had frequent opportunity for collecting relics, manuscripts, and vestments, treasures which the early church set great store by. Among these relics were sure to be relics of St. Andrew; and among the "historias" mentioned by Bede the legend of St. Andrew would surely occupy an important place. May it not have been some monk of Hexham who was inspired by his reading of the story of St. Andrew in one of the manuscripts of the episcopal library to the composition of the Anglo-Saxon poem in honor of the patron saint of his church? There was ample time for this to have happened, and for the completed poem to be copied and to be transmitted to some safe retreat in southern England, before the coming of the Danes. When the Danes did come to Hexham in the year 875<sup>2</sup> the devastation which they wrought was complete. Ailred of Rivaux gives the following account of the destruction of Hexham:

Quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam praesul sanctus condiderat, tota deperiit. In qua denique devastatione monimenta, quae de vita et miraculis Sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever manuscript life or lives of St. Andrew were stored in Acca's library probably perished in this conflagration.

According to the very plausible theory of Skene, the historian of Celtic Scotland, the position of St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland is an immediate outgrowth of the cultivation of that saint at Hexham. It is known that Acca was expelled from his bishopric in the year 731,<sup>4</sup> but nothing is known of his later years. The foundation of St. Andrews, or Kilrimont, in Scotland, which was the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> V, 20, Plummer's ed. I, 331. *Prior Richard's History*, in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 31, gives an account of Acca's gifts to the church of St. Andrew at Hexham which almost verbally repeats Bede and adds nothing to his statements. Raine, I, 10, says that five Northumbrian parish churches are dedicated to St. Andrew: Corbridge and Bywell, near Hexham, Bolan, Shotley, and one at Newcastle.

<sup>3</sup> Raine, I, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, xliii.

<sup>4</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, 330.



special respect shown to that saint in Scotland, dates from the reign of Angus, son of Fergus, who died in 761, after a reign of thirty years.<sup>1</sup> According to the legends which center about the foundation of St. Andrews, the church was founded in reverence of relics of St. Andrew which were brought from Constantinople by a pilgrim monk, named Regulus. But Skene has shown<sup>2</sup> that this name is merely borrowed from an early Celtic saint of the church of Columba, and that in many respects the story of the foundation of St. Andrews in Scotland resembles that of the foundation of the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. It is, therefore, a reasonable inference that the relics of St. Andrew, in honor of which St. Andrews was founded, were brought from Hexham, perhaps by Acca and his followers, and that the reverence accorded them was but part of a general movement to replace the Columban monks and their custom of dedicating churches to their local founders<sup>3</sup> by the authority and usage of the Roman church of Northumbria. St. Andrew thus became the patron saint of St. Andrews, and finally, as this church grew in popularity, the patron saint of the Pictish nation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland* I, 296.

<sup>2</sup> II, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skene, I, 299.

<sup>4</sup> Skene's account is accepted by Lang, *A History of Scotland* I, 44.

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19. NAPIER, A. Collation der altenglischen Gedichte im Vercellibuch. Haupt's Zeitschrift, XXXIII, 66-73 1888 ✓
20. — Zu Andreas 1182 [1181]. *Anglia*, IV, 411.
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4. BOURAUDEL, JOHANNES. Zur Quellen und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, Crist und Fata. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, XI, 65-132.
5. BRANDL, A. Zu Cynewulfs Fata Apostolorum. *Archiv*, C, 330-334.
6. BROOKE, S. A. The History of Early English Literature. New York, 1892.
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29. — Neue Beowulf-Studien. Englische Studien, XXIII, 221-267 (1896).
30. SIEVERS, E. Zu Cynewulf. Anglia, XIII, 1-25.
31. SKEAT, W. W. Andreas and Fata Apostolorum. An Old English Miscellany, pp. 408-420. Oxford, 1901.
32. TEN BRINK, BERNHARD. History of English Literature to Wiclif, tr. Kennedy, pp. 58, 389. New York, 1889.
33. TRAUTMANN, M. Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter. Bonn, 1898. Reviewed by Cook, Journal of Germanic Philology, III, 374-375; by Binz, Englische Studien, XXVI, 388-393.

34. — Zu Cynewulfs Runenstellen. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, II, 118–120.
35. — Der Andreas doch von Cynewulf. Anglia Beiblatt, VI, 17–23.
36. — Wer hat die Schicksale der Apostel zuerst für den Schluss des Andreas erklärt? Anglia Beiblatt, VII, 372.
37. WÜLKER, R. Ueber den Dichter Cynewulf. Anglia, I, 483–507 (1878).
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3. — Passio Andreae ex actis Andreae, Martyria Andreae, Acta Andreae et Matthiae, Acta Petri et Andreae, Passio Bartholomaei, Acta Ioannis, Martyrium Matthaei. Lipsiae, 1898. Part 2, Vol. I, of Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet.
4. — Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae, accedunt Acta Barnabae. Lipsiae, 1903. Part 2, Vol. II, of Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet.
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14. KRÜGER, GUSTAV. *History of Early Christian Literature*, tr. Gillett. New York, 1897.
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16. — Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. Vol. I, Braunschweig, 1883; Vol. II, part 1, 1887; Vol. II, part 2, 1884. *Ergänzungsheft*, Braunschweig, 1890.
17. — *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta Thaddaei*. Lipsiae, 1891. Part 1, Vol. I, of *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet.
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## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

An. Andreas.	C., Cook. Cook, A First Book in Old English (II, 10).
Angl. Anglia.	Chr. Christ, Bibl. III, 1-54.
Ap. The Fates of the Apostles.	Cleas.-Vig. Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic-English Dictionary.
Archiv. 'Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.	Cod. Ver. Wülker, Codex Vercellensis (I, 7).
AS. Anglo-Saxon.	Cos. Cosijn.
Az. Azarias, Bibl. II, 491-520.	Cræft. Bi Monna Cræftum, Bibl. III, 140-143.
B., Baskervill. Baskervill, Andreas, A Legend of St. Andrew (II, 8).	Cremer. Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung (IV, 9).
B <sup>2</sup> . Baskervill, Amer. Journal of Phil., VIII, 95-97 (II, 9).	Cross. Vision of the Cross, Bibl. II, 116-125.
Barnouw. Textkritische Untersuchungen (IV, 1).	Dan. Daniel, Bibl. II, 476-515.
Beibl. Beiblatt.	Deor. Deor's Lament, Bibl. I, 278-280.
Beow. Beowulf, Bibl. I, 149-277.	Dicht. Grein, Dichtungen der Angelsachsen (III, 2).
Bibl. Grein-Wülker, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie.	Dict. Sweet, Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.
Blount. The Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Andreas (IV, 4).	Edd. Editors.
Bonn. Beit. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik.	Edg. Edgar, Bibl. I, 381-384.
Bonnet. Acta Andreae et Matthiae, in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II, 1, 65-116 (VI, 3).	E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society.
Bourauel. Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, etc. (V, 4).	El. Elene, Bibl. II, 126-201.
Brooke. The History of Early English Literature (V, 6).	Eng. Stud. Englische Studien.
Brun. Battle of Brunanburh, Bibl. I, 374-379.	Ettm. Ettmüller, Engla and Seaxna Scopas (II, 5).
B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.	Ex. Exodus, Bibl. II, 445-475.
Buttenwieser. Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas (V, 8).	Ex. Gn. Exeter Gnomes, Bibl. I, 341-352.
	Fabricius. Codex Apocryphus (VI, 8).
	Fæd. Fæder larcwidas, Bibl. I, 353-357.

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in parentheses following certain incomplete titles refer to the full titles given in the *classified Bibliography*.



- Finnesb. The Fight at Finnesburh, Bibl. I, 14-17.  
 Fritzsche. Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andreas (V, 13).  
 Gen. Genesis, Bibl. II, 318-444.  
 Gm., Grimm. Andreas und Elene (II, 2).  
 Gn. Grein, Bibliothek (II, 7).  
 Gn.<sup>2</sup> Grein, Germania, X (IV, 11).  
 Gn. C. Cotton Gnomes, Bibl. I, 338-341.  
 Gol., Gollancz. Cynewulf's Christ (IV, 10).  
 Gram. Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik.  
 Grundriss. Wülker, Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur (I, 6).  
 Gu. Guthlac, Bibl. III, 54-94.  
 Gutschmid. Die Königsnamen, etc. (VI, 9).  
 Hall. Judith, Phoenix and other Anglo-Saxon Poems (III, 5).  
 Harnack. Die Überlieferung und der Bestand, etc. (VI, 10).  
 Haupt's Zs. Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum.  
 Höl. Höllenfahrt Christi, Bibl. III, 175-180.  
 Hy. Hymns, Bibl. II, 211-281.  
 Icel. Icelandic.  
 Imelmann. Das altenglische Menologium (VI, 12).  
 Indo-Ger. Indo-Germanic.  
 Jud. Judith, Bibl. II, 294-314.  
 Jul. Juliana, Bibl. III, 117-139.  
 K., Kemble. The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis (II, 3; III, 1).  
 Kluge. Zur Geschichte des Reimes (IV, 16).  
 Legend. The Legend of St. Andrew. In Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader (VI, 5).  
 Lipsius. Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, etc. (VI, 16).  
 M. Müller, Angelsächsisches Lesebuch (II, 6).  
 Mald. The Battle of Maldon, Bibl. I, 358-373.  
 ME. Middle English.  
 Men. Menologium, Bibl. II, 282-293.  
 Metr. Metrical passages of Boethius, Bibl. III, 1-57.  
 MLA. Modern Language Association.  
 MLN. Modern Language Notes.  
 MnE. Modern English.  
 Mod. Bi Manna Mode, Bibl. III, 144-147.  
 Nachtr. Nachträge.  
 Nap. Napier. Collation der altenglischen Gedichte im Vercellibuch (IV, 19).  
 NED. New English Dictionary.  
 NHG. New High German.  
 OHG. Old High German.  
 OS. Old Saxon.  
 Pan. Panther, Bibl. III, 164-166.  
 PBB. Paul and Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.  
 Ph. Phoenix, Bibl. III, 95-116.  
 Πράξεις. Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαρθῆλα, in Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha (VI, 3).  
 Ps. Psalms, Bibl. III, 83-236.  
 Ramhorst. Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas (V, 24).  
 Rid. Riddles, Bibl. III, 183-238.  
 Rim. Poem. Riming Poem, Bibl. III, 160-163.  
 Root. The Legend of St. Andrew (III, 4).

- Sal. and Sat. Salomon and Saturn, Bibl. III, 58–82.
- Sat. Christ and Satan, Bibl. II, 521–562.
- Sc. Scotch.
- Seaf. Seafarer, Bibl. I, 290–295.
- Shipley. The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (IV, 23).
- Siev., Sievers. Zu Cynewulf, Anglia XIII, 1–25 (V, 30); so unless other specific reference is given.
- Simons. Cynewulfs Wortschatz (IV, 24).
- Soul. Soul and Body, Bibl. II, 92–107.
- Spr. Grein, Sprachschatz.
- Th., Thorpe. Appendix B (II, 1).
- Tr., Trautmann. Zu Cynewulfs Runenstellen (V, 34); so unless other specific reference is given.
- W., Wülker. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, II, 1–91, 563–568 (II, 9).
- Wald. Waldere, Bibl. I, 11–13.
- Walker. Acts of Andrew and Matthias (VI, 26).
- Wand. Wanderer, Bibl. I, 284–289.
- Wid. Widsið, Bibl. I, 1–6.
- Wülfing. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen.
- Wulfstan. Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.
- W.W. Wright-Wülker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.
- ZfdPhil. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.



# ANDREAS

[I]

Hwæt ! wē gefrūnan      on fyrndagum  
 twelfe under tunglum      tīrēadige hæleð,  
 þēodnes þegnas.      Nō hira þrym ālæg  
 camprædenne      þonne cumbol hneotan,  
 syððan hīe gedældon,      swā him Dryhten sylf,      5  
 heofona hēahcýning,      hlȳt getæhte.  
 þæt wæron mære      men ofer eorðan,  
 frome folctogan      ond fyrðhwate,

1 *Gm.*, *K.* gefrunon. *Gm.* regularly changes -an preterits to -on, usually, but not always, citing the *MS.* reading; *K.*, *Ettm.* follow *Gm.* without remark. *K.* at no time gives variant readings, either from the *MS.* or the *Edd.* Except in cases of doubtful interpretation, variants of *Edd.* in the preterit endings will not be recorded hereafter. — 4 *MS.* camrædenne. *Gm.* hnēotan, not changed to hneoton because taken as infinitive; but *Gm.* note 'hneotan = hneoton = hniton, pret. pl. of hnītan?' *K.* hneoton; *Gn.* hneotan, repeating *Gm.*'s note; so also Bright (*MLN.* ii, 80). *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> and *Spr.* ii, 90 hnēotan, from inf. hnātan, *B.* hnēotan; *W.* in his text never, in his notes rarely, indicates the quantities of vowels. — 5 *Gm.* siððan, and so regularly. *Gm.* generally allows y to stand only as representative of an original u, i as representative of an original i; *K.* and *Ettm.* follow *Gm.* *Gn.* neither emends nor follows the *MS.* readings consistently. Thus he changes cining regularly to cýning (ll. 171, 416, 880, etc.) but follows the *MS.* in the spellings drihten and dryhten; he retains syððan at times (ll. 5, 33, 706, 1193, etc.) but also frequently changes to siððan (ll. 43, 180, 1106, etc.). Hereafter variants of i and y will not be recorded except from the texts of those *Edd.* who endeavor to follow the usage of the *MS.* — 6 *MS.*, *Th.* lyt. — 8 In the *MS.* ond as conj. and in composition is usually represented by the abbreviation ȝ. It is written out as ond, conj., in ll. 945, 1001, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719. In composition ond- is written out in ll. 202, 285, 290, 343, 401, 508, 510, 818, 857, 925, 1148, 1224, 1254, 1521. As conj. and does not occur in the *MS.*; *W.*'s *MS.* reading and for l. 754 is wrong, as the *MS.* has here, plainly, the usual abbreviation. In composition and- is written out in ll. 189, 509, 572, 783, 925. *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, though they usually preserve the *MS.* reading where the word is written out, regularly expand the abbreviation into and. *B.* prints usually ond, sometimes and; *W.* 2.8 and, l. 9 on. *W.* does not expand the abbreviations. Inasmuch as ond is

rōfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand  
 on herefelda helm ealgodon, 10  
 on meotudwange. Wæs hira Māthēus sum,  
 sē mid Iūdēum ongan godspell ærest  
 wordum writan wundorcræfte ;  
 þām hālig God hlȳt getēode  
 ūt on þæt īgland, þær ænig þā gīt 15  
 ellþēodigra ēðles ne mihte  
 blædes brūcan ; oft him bonena hand  
 on herefelda hearde gescēode.  
 Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,  
 fēondes fācne, folcstede gumena, 20  
 hæleða ēðel. Næs þær hlāfes wist  
 werum on þām wonge, nē wāteres drync  
 tō brūconne, ah hīe blōd ond fel,  
 fīra flāschoman, feorrancumenra,  
 ðēgon geond þā þēode. Swelc wæs þēaw hira, 25  
 þæt hīe æghwylcne ellðēodigra  
 dydan him tō mōse meteþearfendum,  
 þāra þe þæt ēaland ūtan sōhte.  
 Swylc wæs þæs folces freoðolēas tācen,  
 unlædra eafoð, þæt hīe ēagena gesihð, 30  
 hettend heorogrimme, hēafodgimmas,  
 āgēttan gealgmōde gāra ordum.  
 Syððan him geblēndan bitere tōsomne,

*the only form of the word written out as conj., and ond- the more usual form in composition, the abbreviation is regularly expanded, in the present text, into ond. Variants of Edd. in the reading of ond and and will not be recorded hereafter.*

18 *Gm.*, *K.* gescēod. — 23 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* brucanne. — 24 *MS.*, *Edd.* feorran cumenra. — 25 *MS.*, *W.* ðegon: *W.* alone endeavors to follow the usage of the *MS.* in printing ð and þ; the other *Edd.* print, without remark, þ in initial and ð in medial and final position. — 30 *Th.* earfoð. — 31 *MS.*, *Th.* hettend. *MS.*, *Edd.* heafodgimme; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) heafodgimmas. — 32 *MS.*, *Edd.* ageton, except *Gm.*, *K.* aguton. — 33 *MS.*, *Th.* geblondan, *Gm.* geblēndon, *Æ.* geblendon, *Gn.* geblēondan.

dr̥yas þurh dwolcræft, drync unhēorne,  
 sē onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc, 35  
 heortan [on] hreðre; hyge wæs oncyrrred,  
 þæt hīe ne murndan æfter mandrēame,  
 hæleþ heorogrædige, ac hīe hīg ond gærs  
 for metelēaste mēðe gedrehte. }

þā wæs Māthēus tō þære mæran byrig 40  
 cumen in þā ceastre. þær wæs cirm micel  
 geond Mermedonia, mǎnfulra hlōð,  
 fordēnera gedræg, syþþan dēofles þegnas  
 |geāscodon æðelinges sið. [f. 30<sup>a</sup>]

Ēodon him þā tōgēnes, gārum gehyrsted, 45  
 lungre under linde; nālas late wæron,  
 eorre æsçberend, tō þām orlege.

Hīe þām hālgan þær handa gebundon  
 ond fæstnodon fēondes cræfte,  
 hæleð hellfūse, ond his hēafdes segl 50

ābrēoton mid billes ecge. Hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt  
 heðede in heortan heofonrices weard,  
 þeah ðe hē ātres drync atulne onfēnge;  
 ēadig ond onmōd hē mid elne forð  
 wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor, 55

heofonrices weard, hālgan stefne,  
 of carcerne; him wæs Crīstes lof  
 on fyrhðlocan fæste bewunden.

36 MS., Edd. heortan hreðre. — 37 B. murndon, B.<sup>2</sup> murndan. — 38 Siev. (PBB. x, 460) -grædge. — 39 Gm., K., Gn. gedrēhte, Gn.<sup>2</sup> gedrehte. — 43 MS., Th., Gm., K., Gn. (note, 'unflectierter plural'), B. þegn; Trautmann (Kynnewulf, p. 81) þewu; W. þegnas. In the MS., þegn, followed by a period, stands the last word on f. 29<sup>b</sup>. Between f. 29 and f. 30 there is a narrow strip of parchment. Th. says, 'a leaf of the MS. has been cut out here,' and indicates an omission in his text; Gm., K. as Th. Gn., B., W. state that a leaf of the MS. has been cut out but see no interruption in the narrative and print the text without break. Nap. thinks the MS. is here intact. — 46 Th., Gm., K., Gn. nalæs. — 51 Gm., K. abruton. — 54 Gm., K. ānmōd.

Hē þā wēpende      wēregum tēarum  
 his sigedryhten      sārgan reorde 60  
 grētte, gumena brego,      gēomran stefne,  
 weoruda wilgeofan,      ond þus wordum cwæð:  
 “ Hū mē elpēodige      inwitwrāsne,  
 searonet, sēowað!      Ā ic symles wæs  
 on wega gehwām      willan þīnes 65  
 georn on mōde;      nū ðurh geohða sceal  
 dæde fremman      swā þā dumban nēat!  
 þū āna canst      ealra gehygdo,  
 Meotud mancynnes,      mōd in hreðre.  
 Gif þīn willa sīe,      wuldres aldor, 70  
 þæt mē wærlogan      wæpna ecgum,  
 sweordum, āswebban,      ic bēo sōna gearu  
 tō adrēoganne      þæt ðū, Drihten mīn,  
 engla ēadgifa,      ēðellēasum,  
 dugeða dædfruma,      dēman wille. 75  
 Forgif mē tō āre,      ælmihtig God,  
 lēoht on þissum life,      þy lās ic lungre scyle,  
 āblended in burgum,      æfter billhete  
 þurh hearmcwide      heorugrædigra,  
 lāðra lēodsceaðena,      leng þrōwian 80  
 edwitspræce.      Ic tō ānum þē,  
 middangeardes weard,      mōd stapolige,  
 fæste fyrhðlufan,      ond þē, fæder engla,  
 beorht blædgifa,      biddan wille,  
 ðæt ðū mē ne gescyrige      mid scyldhetum, 85  
 wērigum wrōhtsmiðum,      on þone wyrrestan,  
 dugoða dēmend,      dēað ofer |eorðan.” [f. 30<sup>b</sup>]

63 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -þēodge. — 64 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 437 (*but* seowað, seowiað? *as second reading*), *B.*, *W.* seoðað; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) seowað. — 66 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) gēohða = gēahða. — 67 *Gm.*, *K.* dæda. — 71 *Th.*, *Gm.* wæfna. — 80 *Th.*, *Gn.*, and *Spr.* ii, 601 þreowian. — 85 *Gm.* note, *Gn.* note scyldhatum?; *B.* scild-, *B.*<sup>2</sup> scyld-.

Æfter þyssum wordum      cōm wuldres tācen  
 hālig of heofenum,      swylce hādre segl,  
 tō þām carcerne ;      þær gecyðed wearð,      90  
 þæt hālig God      helpe gefremede.  
 Ðā wearð gehýred      heofoncyniges stefn  
 wrætlic under wolcnum,      wordhleōðres swēg  
 mæres þeodnes ;      hē his maguþegne  
 under hearmlocan      hāelo ond frōfre      95  
 beaurōfum ābēad      beorhtan stefne :  
 “ Ic þē, Māthēus,      mine sylle  
 sybbe under swegle.      Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht,  
 nē on mōde ne murn ;      ic þē mid wunige  
 ond þē ālyse      of þyssum leoðubendum      100  
 ond ealle þā menigo      þe þē mid wuniað  
 on nearonēdum.      þē is neorxnawang,  
 blæda beorhtost,      boldwela fægrost,  
 hāma hyhtlicost,      hālegum mihtum  
 torht ontýned ;      þær ðū týres mōst      105  
 tō wīdan fēore      willan brūcan.  
 Gepola þeoda prēa ;      nis sēo prāh micel,  
 þæt þē wærlogan      witebendum,  
 synnige ðurh searocraeft,      swencan mōtan.  
 Ic þē Andrēas      ædre onsende      110  
 tō hleo ond tō hrōðre      in þās hæðenan burg ;  
 hē ðē ālyseð      of þyssum lēodhete.  
 Is tō þære tide      tælnet hwile  
 emne mid sōðe      seofon ond twēntig  
 nihtgerīmes,      þæt ðū of nēde mōst,      115  
 sorgum geswenced,      sigore gewyrðod,

89 *MS.* segl; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* sægl. — 93 *Th.*, *Gm.* word hleoðres; *Gm.* places sweg in l. 94<sup>a</sup>. — 99 *MS.* ne ne murn. — 101 *MS.* the second þe written in above the line. — 102 *MS.*, *Edd.* neorxna wang. — 105 *B.* tires, *B.*<sup>2</sup> tyres. — 109 *MS.*, *Edd.* synne. — 112 *Gm.* alysed.



hweorfan of hēnðum in gehyld Godes."

Gewāt him þā se hālga helm ælwihta,

engla scyppend, tō þām ūplican

ēðelrice. Hē is on riht cyning,

120

staðolfæst stýrend, in stōwa gehwām.

## [II]

Ðā wæs Māthēus miclum onbryrded

nīwan stefne. Nihthelm tōglād,

lungre lēorde; lēoht æfter cōm,

dægrēdwōma. Duguð samnade,

125

hæðne hildfreca, hēapum þrungon

(gūðsearo gullon, gāras hrysedon),

bolgenmōde, under bordhrēoðan.

Woldon cunnian, hwæðer cwise lifdon

þā þe on carcerne clommum fæste

130

hlēolēasan wic hwile |wunedon,

[f. 31<sup>a</sup>]

hwylcne hie tō æte ærest mihton

æfter fyrstmearce fēores berædan.

Hæfdon hie on rūne ond on rīmcraefte

āwriten, wælgrædige, wera endestæf,

135

hwænne hie tō mōse metepearfendum

117 *MS.*, *Edd* hweorfest; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) hweorfan. — 118 *MS.* ge him, with no indication of omission; all *Edd.* gewat. — 120 *MS.* riceſ, the lower part of the s erased; so *Nap.*; *W.* after e of rice, a heavy period followed by a semicolon. But the *MS.* has plainly s, the comma beneath the partly erased letter indicating that it is to be removed. All *Edd.* eðelrice; *Gn.* note, 'MS. eðel rices, eðel unflectierter dativ?' — 120 *Gn.* onriht. — 121 The first section of the narrative in the *MS.* ends with gehwam. Space for one line is left vacant and the second section begins with a large capital Ð, followed by a smaller capital A. Hereafter, since the method of dividing the narrative into sections varies only in insignificant details, these divisions will not be described, but will be indicated by spacing and numbering in the text. — 125 *Th.* dægred woma. — 134 *Gn.* hi. — 134 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) omits on before rīmcraefte. — 135 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -grædge. — 136 *MS.*, *Th.* hwæne; *B.* hwænne as *MS.* reading, *B.*<sup>2</sup> hwæne. *Th.* *Gm.* mete bearfendum.

on þære werþeode weorðan sceoldon.  
 Cirmdon caldheorte, corðor oðrum getang;  
 rēðe ræsboran rihtes ne gīmdon,  
 Meotudes mildse; oft hira mōd onwōd 140  
 under dimscūan - deofles lārum,  
 þonne hīe unlædra eaueðum gelyfdon.  
 Hīe ðā gemetton mōdes glāwne,  
 hāligne hæle, under heolstorlocan  
 bīdan beadurōfne þæs him beorht cyning, 145  
 engla ordfruma, unnan wolde.  
 Ðā wæs first āgān frumrædenne  
 þinggemearces būtan þrīm nihtum,  
 swā hit wælwulfas āwriten hæfdon,  
 þæt hīe bānhringas ābrecean þōhton, 150  
 lungre tōlȳsan lic ond sāwle,  
 ond þonne tōdælan ðuguðe ond geogoðe,  
 werum tō wiste ond tō wilpege,  
 fæges flæschoman. Feorh ne bemurndan,  
 grædige gūðrincas, hū þæs gāstes sið 155  
 æfter swyltcwale geseted wurde!  
 Swā hīe symble ymb þrītig þing gehēdon  
 nihtgerīmes; wæs him nēod micel,  
 þæt hīe tōbrugdon blōdigum ceafum  
 fīra flæschoman him tō fōddorpege. 160  
 þā wæs gemyndig, sē ðe middangeard  
 gestaðelode strangum mihtum,  
 hū hē in ellþeodigum yrmðum wunode,  
 belocen leoðubendum, þe oft his lufan ādrēg  
 for Ebrēum ond Israhēlum; 165

138 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* corðer. — 142 *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eafeðum. — 143 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gleawne; *B.*<sup>2</sup> glawne. — 145 *MS.* wæs, *Edd.* hwæs; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) þæs. — 157 *K.* gehegdon. — 158 *Nap.* after nihtgerimes an erasure of one or two letters in the *MS.* — 163 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -þeodgum. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wunade. — 164 *MS.*, *Edd.* of; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) oft. *Gm.*, *K.* adreag.

swylce hē Jūdēa galdorcræftum  
 wiðstōd stranglice. þā sio stefn gewearð  
 gehēred of heofenum, þær se hālga wer  
 in Achaia, Andrēas, wæs ;  
 lēode lārde on lifes weg. 170

þā him cirebaldum cininga wuldor,  
 Meotud mancynnes, mōdhord onlēac,  
 weoruda Drihten, ond þus wordum cwæð :  
 “ þū scealt fēran ond ferð lādan,  
 sīðe gesēcan, ðær sylfætan 175

eard weardigað, ēðel healdaþ  
 morðorcræftum. Swā is þære menigo þēaw,  
 | þæt hīe uncūðra ængum ne willað [f. 31<sup>b</sup>]  
 on þām folcstede fēores geunnan,  
 syððan mǣnfulle on Mermedonia 180

onfindað fēasceaftne ; þær sceall feorhgedāl,  
 earmlic ylða cwealm, æfter wyrþan.

Ðær ic seomian wāt þīnne sigēbrōðor,  
 mid þām burgwarum bendum fæstne.

Nū bið fore þrēo niht, þæt hē on þære þēode sceal 185  
 fore hǣðenra handgewinne  
 þurh gāres gripe gāst onsendan,  
 ellorfūsne, būtan ðū ær cyme.”

Ædre him Andrēas āgef andsware :

“ Hū mæg ic, Dryhten mīn, ofer<sup>1</sup>dēop gelād 190  
 fōre gefremman on feorne weg  
 swā hrædlīce, heofona scyppend,  
 wuldres waldend, swā ðū worde becwist?  
 Dæt mæg engel þīn ēað gefēran.  
 Of heofenum con him holma begang, 195

171 *Gn.* cirebealdum (not as *W.* states cire bealdum); *M.* note cynebealdum? —

174 *MS.*, *Edd.* frið; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* (p. 39) ferð. — 181 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* sceal. — 185 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* (p. 107) ofer for fore.

sealte sǣstrēamas      ond swanrāde,  
 waroðfaruða gewinn      ond wæterbrōgan,  
 wēgas ofer wīdland.      Nē synt mē winas cūðe,  
 eorlas elpēodige,      nē þær æniges wāt  
 hæleða gehygdo,      nē mē herestræta      200  
 ofer cald wæter      cūðe sindon."

Him ðā ondswarude      ēce Dryhten :  
 "Ealā, Andrēas !      þæt ðū ā woldest  
 þæs sīðfætes      sǣne weorþan !  
 Nis þæt unēaðe      eallwealdan Gode      205  
 tō gefremmanne      on foldwege,  
 ðæt sīo ceaster hider      on þās cnēorisse  
 under swegles gang      āseted wyrðe,  
 breogostōl brēme,      mid þām burgwarum,  
 gif hit worde becwið      wuldres āgend.      210  
 Ne meaht ðū þæs sīðfætes      sǣne weorðan,  
 nē on gewitte tō wāc,      gif ðū wel þencest  
 wið þinne waldend      wære gehealdan,  
 trēowe tācen.      Bēo ðū on tīd gearu ;  
 ne mæg þæs ærendes      ylding wyrðan.      215  
 Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran      ond þīn feorh beran  
 in gramra gripe,      ðær þē gūðgewinn  
 þurh hǣðenra      hildewōman,  
 beorna beaducræft,      geboden wyrðeð.  
 Scealtū æninga      mid ærdæge,      220  
 emne tō morgene,      æt meres ende  
 cēol ge|stīgan      ond on cald wæter      [f. 32<sup>a</sup>]  
 brecan ofer bæðweg.      Hafa bletsunge  
 ofer middangeard      mīne, þær ðū fēre."

196 *After the s of sealte, a blank space in the MS. caused by the erasure of one letter. MS. stearmas.* — 198 *MS., Edd. wegas and wid land, Gn.<sup>2</sup> wīdland. Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9) weras for winas.* — 199 *Siev. (PBB. x, 460) -pēodge.* — 203 *Gn. Ea la.* — 205 *K. ealwealdan.* — 213 *Gm., K., M. wealdend.* — 219 *MS., Th., Gm. wyrdeð.* — 221 *Siev. (PBB. x, 459) morgne.*

Gewāt him þā se hālga healdend ond wealdend, 225  
 ūpengla fruma, ēðel sēcan,  
 middangeardes weard, þone mæran hām,  
 þær sōðfæstra sāwla mōton  
 æfter lices hryre<sup>o</sup> lifes brūcan.

## [III]

þā wæs ærende æðelum cempan 230  
 āboden in burgum; ne wæs him blēað hyge,  
 ah hē wæs anræd ellenweorces,  
 heard ond higerōf, nālas hildlata,  
 gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe.  
 Gewāt him þā on uhtan mid ærdæge 235  
 ofer sandhleōðu tō sæs waruðe,  
 þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid,  
 gangan on grēote; gārsecg hlynede,  
 bēoton brimstrēamas. Sę beorn wæs on hyhte,  
 syðþan hē on waruðe wīdfæðme scip 240  
 mōdig gemētte. þā cōm morgentorht  
 bēacna beorhtost ofer breomo snēowan,  
 hālig of heolstre; heofoncandel blāc  
 ofer lagoflōdas. Hē ðær lidweardas,  
 þrymlice þrȳ, þegnas [gemētte,] 245  
 mōdiglice menn, on merebāte  
 sittan sīðfrome, swylce hīe ofer sǣ cōmon.  
 þæt wæs Drihten sylf, dugeða wealdend,  
 ēce ælmihtig, mid his englum twām.

227 *MS.* we<sup>a</sup>rd; *B. note*, incorrectly as *MS.*, weard. — 230 *Gn.* cempum, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> cempan. — 233 *K.*, *Gn.* nalæs. — 234 *K.* compe. — 236 *MS.*, *Edd.* faruðe. — 240 *Gm.* misprint -fæðme. — 241 *MS.*, *Edd.* morgen torht; *Spr.* ii, 264, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) morgentorht. — 242 *K.* bearhtost. — 245 *Though there is no indication of an omission in the MS., a word has evidently dropped out after þegnas. Th. notes the omission but supplies no word to fill it. K. gescēawode, Gm., Gn., W., B. geseah; Siev. (PBB. x, 517) rejects both readings for metrical reasons and proposes gemētte.*

Wæron hīe on gescirplan    scipfērendum,  
 eorlas onlice    ēaliðendum,  
 þonne hīe on flōdes fæðm    ofer feorne weg  
 on cald wæter    cēolum lācað.

250

Hīe ðā gegrētte,    sē ðe on grēote stōd,  
 fūs on faroðe,    fægn reordade :

255

“ Hwanon cōmon gē    cēolum liðan,  
 mācræftige menn,    on mereþissan,  
 āne ægflotan?    hwanon ēagorstrēam  
 ofer yða gewealc    ēowic brōhte? ”

Him ðā ondswarode    ælmihti God,  
 swā þæt ne wiste,    sē ðe þæs wordes bād,  
 hwæt sē manna wæs    meðelhēgendra,  
 þe hē þær on waroðe    |wiðþingode :

260

[f. 32<sup>b</sup>]

“ Wē of Marmedonia    mægðe syndon  
 feorran geferede ;    ūs mid flōde bær  
 on hranrāde    hēahstefn naca,  
 snellic sāmearh,    snūde bewunden,  
 oðþæt wē þissa lēoda    land gesōhton,  
 wære bewrecene,    swā ūs wind fordrāf.”

265

Him þā Andrēas    ēaðmōd oncwæð :  
 “ Wolde ic þē biddan,    þēh ic þē bēaga lýt,  
 sincweorðunga,    syllan meahste,  
 þæt ðū ūs gebrōhte    brante cēole,  
 hēa hornscipe,    ofer hwæles ēðel  
 on þære mægðe ;    bið ðē meorð wið God,  
 þæt þū ūs on lāde    liðe weorðe.”

270

275

251 *Th.* eorlum. *Gn.* anlice. — 255 *MS.*, *Edd.* frægn ; *Gn.* note ‘frægn = interrogationem?’ *Spr.* i, 337 ‘frægn = Frage? oder ist hier frægn Parenthese (so erfuhr ich)?’ *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) fægn. — 257 *Th.* ma cræftige, note mere-cræftige? *Sweet* (*Dict.* p. 111) mægen-? — 260 *MS.* ælmihti, standing at end of a line ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ælmihtig. — 261 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* se þæs. — 262 *M.* meðel hegendra. — 263 *K.* þa (*trans.*, ‘whom he there,’ etc.). *Gn.* wið þingode. — 267 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* p. 130 sunde. — 268 *MS.* þiss ; *Gn.*, incorrectly as *MS.*, þis. — 271 *MS.* biddan inserted above the line. *Gm.*, *K.* þeah.

Eft him ondsvarode æðelinga helm  
of yðlide, engla scippend :

“ Ne magon þær gewunian wīdfērende,

nē þær elþeodige eardes brūcað, 280

ah in þære ceastre cwealm prōwiað,

þā ðe feorran þyder feorh gelædaþ ;

ond þū wilnast nū ofer wīdne mere,

þæt ðū on þā fægðe þīne fēore spilde? ”

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware :

285

“ Ūsic lust hweteð on þā lēodmearce,

mycel mōdes hiht, tō þære mæran byrig,

þeoden lēofesta, gif ðū ūs þīne wilt

on merefaroðe miltse gecyðan.”

Him ondsvarode engla þeoden,

290

neregend fīra, of nacan stefne :

“ Wē ðe ēstlice mid ūs willað

ferigan frēolice ofer fīsces bæð

efne tō þām lande þær þe lust myneð

tō gesēcanne, syððan gē ēowre

295

gafulrædenne āgīfen habbað,

sceattas gescrifene, swā ēow scipweardas,

āras ofer yðbord, unnan willað.”

Him þā ofstlice Andrēas wið,

winepearfende, wordum mælde :

300

“ Næbbe ic fæted gold nē feohgestrēon,

welan nē wiste nē wīra gespann,

landes nē locenra bēaga, þæt ic þe mæge lust āhwettan,

willan in worulde, swā ðū worde becwist.”

280 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -þeodige. — 282 *K.* þiðer. — 285 *Th.* misprint ages. —  
286 *K.* hwæteð. — 287 *K.* þærre. — 288 *MS.* ðus, *Edd.* ðu us. — 293 *M.* bað.  
— 298 *MS.*, *Edd.* aras, except *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *C.* ara. — 300 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.*, *W.* wine  
pearfende. — 301 *W.* as *MS.* fæced, but *Nachtr.* fæted; *Nap.* plainly fæted. *Th.*,  
*B.* fæced; *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* fætedgold; *Gn.*, *W.*, *C.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) fæted gold.  
— 303 *Schröer* (*Eng. Stud.* x, 121) and *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 314) would omit landes ne.

Him þā beorna breogo, þær hē on bolcan sæt, 305  
ofer waroða geweorp wiðþingode :

|" Hū gewearð þē þæs, wine lēofesta, [f. 33<sup>a</sup>]

ðæt ðū sǣbeorgas sēcan woldes,  
merestrēama gemet, mǣðmum bedǣled,  
ofer cald cleofu cēoles nēosan? 310

Nafast þē tō frōfre on faroðstræte  
hlāfes wiste nē hlūtterne  
drync tō dugoðe? Is se drohtað strang  
þām þe lagolāde lange cunnap."

Ðā him Andrēas purh ondsware, 315

wīs on gewitte, wordhord onlēac :

"Ne gedafenað þē, nū þē Dryhten geaƿ *f geaƿ*

welan ond wiste ond woruldspēde,  
ðæt ðū ondsware mid oferhygdum,  
sēce sārcwide ; sēle bið æghwām, 320

þæt hē ēaðmēdum ellorfūsne  
oncnāwe cūðlice, swā þæt Crīst bebēad,  
þēoden þrymfæst. Wē his þegnas synd  
gecoren tō cempum. Hē is cyning on riht,  
wealdend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes, 325

ān ēce God eallra gesceafta,  
swā hē ealle befēhð ānes cræfte,  
hefon ond eorðan, hālgum mihtum,  
sigora sēlost. Hē ðæt sylfa cwæð,  
fæder folca gehwæs, ond ūs fēran hēt 330  
geond ginne grund gāsta strēonan :

' Farað nū geond ealle eorðan scēatas  
emne swā wide swā wæter bebūgeð,

306 *Gn.* wið þingode. — 309 *MS.* bedǣleð. — 310 *M.* calde. — 312 *MS.* the first  
t of hlutterne written in above the line. — 319 *Gm.*, *M.* oferhygðum. — 323 *MS.*,  
*Gm.* We is. — 328 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* heofon. — 329 *C.* note suggests sellend for sēlost.  
— 332 *MS.* plainly sceatas, the c corrected from a t; so also *Nap.*; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*  
and in text sceattas, *W. Nachtr.* sceatas; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *C.* sceatas.



oððe stedewangas      stræte gelicgaþ ;  
 bodiað æfter burgum      beorhtne gelēafan      335  
 ofer foldan fæðm ;      ic ēow freoðo healde.

Ne ðurfan gē on þā fōre      frætwe lædan,  
 gold nē seolfor ;      ic ēow gōda gehwæs  
 on ēowerne āgenne dōm      ēst āhwette.  
 Nū ðū seolfa miht      sīð ūserne      340  
 gehȳran hygeþancol ;      ic sceal hraðe cunnan,  
 hwæt |ðū ūs tō duguðum      gedōn wille.”      [f. 33<sup>b</sup>]

Him þā ondswarode      ēce Dryhten :  
 “Gif gē syndon þegnas      þæs þe þrym āhōf  
 ofer middangeard,      swā gē mē secgaþ,      345  
 ond gē gehēoldon þæt ēow      se hālga bēad,  
 þonne ic ēow mid gefēan      ferialan wille  
 ofer brimstrēamas,      swā gē bēnan sint.”  
 þā in cēol stigon      collenfyrhðe,  
 ellenrōfe ;      æghwylcum wearð      350  
 on merefaroðe      mōd geblissod.

## [IV]

Ðā ofer ȳða geswing      Andrēas ongann  
 mereliðendum      miltsa biddan  
 wuldres aldor,      ond þus wordum cwæð :  
 “Forgife þē Dryhten      dōmweorðunga,      355  
 willan in worulde      ond in wuldre blæd,  
 Meotud manncynnes,      swā ðū mē hafast  
 on þyssum sīðfæte      sybbe gecȳðed !”

334 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) stedewanga. — 337 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* durfon, *Gm.* as *MS.* durfan ; *M.* note þurfon. — 340 *Gn.* meaht. — 342 *MS.* dugudum. — 343 *MS.* ece ; *W.* æce. — 346 *K.* places the hemistich after geheoldon. — 354 *Th.* cwæd. — 356 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* on worulde. — 358 *B.* sibbe, *B.*? sybbe.

Gesæt him þā se hālga helmwearde nēah,  
 æðele be æðelum.    Æfre ic ne hȳrde 360  
 þon cȳmlicor    cēol gehladenne  
 hēahgestrēonum.    Hæleð in sǣton,  
 þēodnas þrymfulle,    þegnas wlitige.  
 Ðā reordode    rice þēoden,  
 ēce ælmihtig,    heht his engel gān, 365  
 mǣrne maguþegn,    ond mete syllan,  
 frēfran fēasceaftē    ofer flōdes wylm,  
 þæt hīe þē ēað mihton    ofer ȳða geþring  
 drohtaþ ādrēogan.    þā gedrēfed wearð,  
 onhrēred hwælmere ;    hornfisc plegode, 370  
 glād geond gārsecg,    ond se grāga mǣw  
 wælgīfre wand ;    wedercandel swearc,  
 windas wēoxon,    wāgas grundon,  
 |strēamas styredon,    strengas gurrōn, [f. 34<sup>a</sup>]  
 wǣdo gewætte.    Wætereḡsa stōd 375  
 þrēata þrȳðum ;    þegnas wurdon  
 ācolmōde ;    ænig ne wēnde,  
 þæt hē lifgende    land begēte,  
 þāra þe mid Andrēas    on ēagorstrēam  
 cēol gesōhte.    Næs him cūð þā gȳt, 380  
 hwā þām sǣflotan    sund wisode.  
 Him þā se hālga    on holmwege  
 ofer ārgeblond    Andrēas þā gīt,  
 þegn þēodenhold,    þanc gesægde,  
 rīcum rǣsboran,    þā hē gereordod wæs : 385

359 *MS.*, *Edd.* holm-; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) holm = helm, as in 396<sup>a</sup>. 'Wol zu ändern.' — 360 *W.* after hȳrde a letter, probably g, has been erased in the *MS.* — 362 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* insǣton. — 367 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.*, *B.* feasceaftne; *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) feasceaftē. — 368 *Gn.* hi. *Gm.* misprint ead. — 375 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) wada gewēalce? *Simons* (p. 148) wǣdo = wǣda. — 382 *Th.* wa for þa. — 384 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gn.* þeoden hold; *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* þeodne hold; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 586, *W.*, *B.*, *C.* þeodenhold.

“ Ðē þissa swāsenda      sōðfæst Meotud,  
 lifes lēohtfruma,      lēan forgilde,  
 weoruda waldend,      ond þē wist gife,  
 heofonlicne hlāf,      swā ðū hyldo wið mē  
 ofer frigendstrēam      frēode gecyðdest !      390  
 Nū synt geþrēade      þegnas mīne,  
 geonge gūðrincas ;      gārsecg hlymmeð,  
 geofon gēotende ;      grund is onhrēred,  
 dēope gedrēfed ;      duguð is geswenced,  
 mōdigra mægen      myclum gebysgod.”      395

Him of helman oncwæð      hæleða Scyppend :  
 “ Læt nū geferian      flotan ūserne,  
 lid tō lande      ofer lagufæsten,  
 ond þonne gebīdan      beornas þīne,  
 āras on earde,      hwænne ðū eft cyme.”      400

Ēdre him þā eorlas      āgēfan ondsware,  
 þegnas þrothearde ;      þafigan ne woldon,  
 ðæt hīe forlēton      æt lides stefnan  
 lēofne lārēow      ond him land curon :  
 “ Hwider hweorfað wē      hlāfordlēase,      405  
 gēomormōde,      gōde orfeorme,  
 synnum wunde,      gif wē swicað þē?  
 Wē bīoð lāðe      on landa gehwām,  
 folcum fracōðe,      þonne fīra |bearn,      [f. 34<sup>b</sup>]  
 ellenrōfe,      æht besittap,      410  
 hwylc hira sēlost      symle gelæste  
 hlāforde æt hilde,      þonne hand ond rond

389 *Th.* as *MS.* -lice, *text* -licne ; so *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* — 390 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* frigen-  
 stream. — 393 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *W.* heofon ; *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *C.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9)  
 geofon ; cf. 1508<sup>a</sup>, 1585<sup>b</sup>. — 394 *W.* as *MS.* dugud. — 395 *B.* miclum. — 396 *MS.*  
*Edd.* holme ; *Gn.* note of helme ; *Spr.* ii, 94 holm, ‘*der Helm des Schiffes, ein*  
*Steuerruder ?*’ *C.* note ‘*Per hanc* — *halm, the helm of the ship*’ ; *Simon*  
*p.* 76 holm = helm, ‘*agefon, B. agefan.* — 40  
*Gm.* hlaforlease. — ; *Gn.*, *B.* gode, *C.* God  
 — 411 *K.* seh

on beaduwange      billum forgrunden

æt niðplegan      nearu þrōwedon."

þā reordade      rice þeoden,

415

wærfæst cining,      word stunde āhōf :

"Gif ðū þegn sīe      þrymsittendes,

wuldorcyninges,      swā ðū worde becwist,

rece þā gerȳnu,      hū hē reordberend

lærde under lyfte.      Lang is þēs siðfæt

420

ofer fealuwne flōd ;      frēfra þīne

mæcgas on mōde.      Mycel is nū gēna

lād ofer lagustrēam,      land swiðe feorr

tō gesēcanne ;      sund is geblonden,

grund wið grēote.      God ēaðe mæg

425

heaðoliðendum      helpe gefremman."

Ongan þā glēawlice      gingran sīne,

wuldorspēdige weras,      wordum trymman :

"Gē þæt gehogodon,      þā gē on holm stigon,

þæt gē on fāra folc      feorh gelæddon,

430

ond for Dryhtnes lufan      dēað þrōwodon,

on Ælmyrcna      ēðelrice

sāwle gesealdon.      Ic þæt sylfa wāt,

þæt ūs gescyldeð      scyppend engla,

weoruda Dryhten.      Wæteregesa sceal,

435

geðyð ond geðrēatod      þurh þryðcining,

lagu lācende,      liðra wyrðan.

Swā gesælde iu,      þæt wē on sǣbāte

ofer waruðgewinn      wæda cunnedan,

faroðridende.      Frēcne þūhton

440

413 *MS.* fore grunden; *Th.*, *W.* foregrunden. — 420 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* þeos. — 423 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.* lað. *K.* feor. — 424 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.*, *B.*, *W.*, *C.* sand; *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 10) sund. — 425 *Gn.* note grand? for grund. — 426 *Gm.* misprint, *M.* heado-; *C.* hēaðo-, 'perhaps for heahðo-.' — 433 *W.* after sylfa a letter erased in the *MS.* — 438 *K.* þat. — 439 *K.*, *Gn.* wada. *W.* as *MS.* cunedan, *Nachtr.* cunedan. — 440 *Gm.*, *M.* -riðende.

egle ēalāda ; ēagorstrēamas  
 bēoton bordstæðu ; brim oft oncwæð,  
 yð oðerre. Hwīlum upp āstōd  
 of brimes bōsme | on bātes fæðm [f. 35<sup>a</sup>]  
 egesa ofer yðlid. Ælmihtig þær, 445  
 Meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan  
 beorht bāsnod. Beornas wurdon  
 forhte on mōde ; friðes wilnedon,  
 miltsa tō mærum. þā sēo menigo ongan  
 clypian on cēole ; cyning sōna ārās, 450  
 engla ēadgifa, yðum stilde,  
 wæteres wælmum, windas þrēade ;  
 sǣ sessade, smylte wurdon  
 merestrēama gemeotu. Ðā ūre mōd āhlōh  
 syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang 455  
 windas ond wāegas ond wæterbrōgan  
 forhte gewordne for Frēan egesan.  
 Forþan ic ēow tō sōðe secgan wille,  
 þæt nǣfre forlæteð lifgende God  
 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen dēah." 460  
 Swā hlēoðrode hālig cempa,  
 ðēawum geþancul ; þegnas lārde  
 ēadig ōreta, eorlas trymede,  
 oððæt hīe semninga slǣp oferēode,  
 mēðe be mæste. Mere sweoðerade, 465  
 yða ongin eft oncyrde,  
 hrēoh holmþracu. þā þām hālgan wearð  
 æfter gryrehwīle gāst geblissod.

442 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i, 145, *Simons* (p. 18) brūn for brim. *K.* eft. — 445 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.* yðlið. — 452 *Th.*, *Gm.* windes, *Gm.* note windes þreate, or (note to l. 453) windas þreade. — 453 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* sæs essade ; *Gm.* note (1) sæs essadon, (2) sǣ essade (3) sǣ sessade. — 458 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* omit to. — 459 *Gm.* misprint forlæted.

## [V]

Ongan ðā reordigan      rædum snottor,  
 wīs on gewitte,      wordlocan onspēonn :      470  
 “ Næfre ic sǣlidan      sēlran mētte,  
 mācræftigran,      þæs ðe mē þynceð,  
 rōwend rōfran,      rædsnotterran,  
 wordes wīsan.      Ic wille þē,  
 eorl unforcūð,      ānre nū gēna      475  
 bēne biddan,      þēah ic þē bēaga lýt,  
 sincweorðunga,      syllan mihte,  
 fætedsinces :      wolde ic frēondscipe,  
 þēoden þrym|fæst,      þinne, gif ic mehte,      [f. 35<sup>b</sup>]  
 begitan gōdne.      þæs ðū gife hlēotest,      480  
 hāligne hyht      on heofonþrymme,  
 gif ðū lidwērigum      lārna þinra  
 ēste wyrðest.      Wolde ic ānes tō ðē,  
 cynerōf hǣleð,      cræftes nēosan :  
 ðæt ðū mē getæhte,      nū þē tīr cyning      485  
 ond miht forgef,      manna scyppend,  
 hū ðū wægflotan      wære bestēmdon,  
 sǣhengeste,      sund wīsige.  
 Ic wæs on gifeðe      iu ond nū [þā]  
 syxtýne sīðum      on sǣbāte,      490  
 mere hrērendum      mundum frēorig,

473 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* rorend (*K.* trans. ‘rower’), *Gn. Spr.* ii, 384 rorend a scribal error for rowend? — 478 *W.* between freond and scipe, a letter erased in the *MS.* — 479 *MS.* þine; *Th.* as *MS.* þīne, i.e. þinne. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* mihte. — 482 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -wergum. — 483 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* est; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Zupitza* (*Angl.* iii, 369), *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80), *W.*, *C.* este. — 485<sup>b</sup>–486<sup>a</sup> *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 10) nu þe tircyning || þa miht forgef. — 487 *Gm.*, *K.* bestemdan. — 489<sup>a</sup> *Gn.* note gifeð = geofon? *Spr.* i, 506 on gifeðe, ungefährr? — 489<sup>b</sup> *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) notes that the half-line is too short; *Holthausen* (*Angl.* xiii, 357) reads iu ond nuþa; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) þa iu ond nu. — 491 *W.* an r erased between mere and hrerendum; *K.* merehrerendum.

ēagorstrēamas (is ðys āne mā),  
 swā ic æfre ne geseah ænigne mann,  
 þrȳðbearn hæleða, þē gelicne,  
 stēoran ofer stæfnan. Strēamwelm hwileð, 495  
 beateþ brimstæðo; is þēs bāt ful scrid,  
 færeð fāmigheals, fugole gelicost  
 glideð on geofone. Ic georne wāt,  
 þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer yðlāde  
 on sǣleodan syllicran cræft. 500  
 Is þon geliccost swā hē on landsceare  
 stille stande, þær hine storm ne mæg,  
 wind āwecgan, nē wæterflōdas  
 brecan brondstæfne; hwæðere on brim snōweð  
 snel under segle. Ðū eart seolfa geong, 505  
 wīgendra hlēo, nālas wintrum frōd,  
 hafast þēh on fyrhðe, faroðlācende,  
 eorles ondsware; æghwylces canst  
 worda for worulde wīslīc andgit.”  
 Him ondswarode ēce Dryhten: 510  
 “Oft þæt gesǣleð, þæt wē on sǣlāde,  
 scipum under scealcum, | þonne scēor cymeð, [f. 36<sup>a</sup>]

494 *MS.*, *Edd.* hæleð; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 10) hæleða. — 495 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* hwileð; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 117, *B.*, *C.* hwileð. — 496 *MS.*, *Edd.* beateþ; *Spr.* i, 106, *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) beateþ. *K.*, *B.* brim stæðo (*W.* incorrectly ascribes also brimstæðo to *B.*). *Gm.*, *K.* þeos. *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.*, *C.* ful scrid; *Gm.*, *K.* fulscrȳd; *Gm.* *note*, *Gn.*, *B.* fulscrid. — 497 *Gm.* fereð; *K.* fareð. — 498 *Gm.*, *K.* geofene. — 499 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* yðlāfe; *Gn.* *Nachtr.* and *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 11), *C.* yðlade. — 500 *MS.*, *Th.* sǣ leodan; *Gm.*, *K.* sǣ lǣdan. — 501 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gelicost. *MS.* plainly lansceare; *Th.*, *W.* as *MS.* lansceape (but *W.* *Nachtr.* lansceare); *Th.* text, as *MS.*; *Gm.* (-seeape, misprint), *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.*, *B.*, *C.* landscape; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 11) landscape. The syllable lan- stands at end of a line in the *MS.* Cf. 684<sup>a</sup>, 1229<sup>b</sup>. — 504 *Gn.* brontstæfne, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i, 136 brondstæfne; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 11) brontstæfn[n]e. *B.* as *MS.* sneoweð, *B.*<sup>2</sup> snoweð; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *C.* sneoweð. — 507 *MS.*, *Edd.* þe. *Gm.*, *K.* -lacendes. *Nap.*, on the left margin of the page in the *MS.*, the word leof. — 512 *Folio* 35<sup>b</sup> ends with scealcum. *Th.* thinks a leaf has been cut out; but the other *Edd.* print without interruption; cf. 43<sup>b</sup>.

brecað ofer bæðweg      brimhengestum.

Hwīlum ūs on yðum      earfoðlice

gesæleð on sæwe,      þēh wē sið nesan, 515

frēcne gefēran.      Flōdwylm ne mæg

manna ænigne      ofer Meotudes ēst

lungre gelettan ;      āh him lifes geweald,

sē ðe brimu bindeð,      brūne yða

ðyð ond prēatað.      Hē þēodum sceal 520

racian mid rihte,      sē ðe rodor āhōf

ond gefæstnode      folmum sīnum,

worhte ond wreðede,      wuldras fylde

beorhtne boldwelan ;      swā gebledsod wearð

engla ēðel      þurh his ānes miht. 525

Forþan is gesyne,      sōð orgete,

cūð oncnāwen,      þæt ðū cyninges eart

þegen gepungen,      þrymsittendes,

forþan þē sōna      sæholm oncnēow,

gārsecges begang,      þæt ðū gife hæfdes 530

hāliges gāstes.      Hærn eft onwand,

ārýða geblond ;      egesa gestilde,

wīdfæðme wæg ;      wædu swæðorodon

seoðþan hīe ongēton      þæt ðē God hæfde

wære bewunden,      sē ðe wuldres blæd 535

gestaðolade      strangum mihtum."

þā hlēoðrade      hālgan stefne

cempa collenferhð,      cyning wyrðude,

wuldres waldend,      ond þus wordum cwæð :

"Wes ðū gebledsod,      brego mancynnes, 540

Dryhten Hælend !      Ā þin dōm lyfað !

515 *Edd.* siðnesan, *except K.* sið nesen, and *B.* sið nesan (*W.* incorrectly ascribes siðnesan to *B.*). — 521 *Gm.*, *K.* rædan for racian. — 523 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wuldres. — 526 *Th.* ongeten. — 531 *Th.* hæneft. — 532 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* ar yða. — 535 *MS.* bewunde. — 538 *Th.* wyrðude, 'apparently an error for wer-ðeode.' — 539 *Gm.*, *K.* wealdend.



Ge nēh ge feor is þīn nama hālig,  
 wuldre gewlitegad ofer werþēoda,  
 miltsum gemāersod. Nāenig manna is  
 under heofonhwealfe, hāleða cynnes, 54  
 ðætte āreccan mæg oððe rīm wite  
 hū ðrymlice, þēoda | baldor, [f. 36<sup>b</sup>]  
 gāsta gēocend, þīne gife dālest.  
 Hūru is gesȳne, sāwla nergend,  
 þæt ðū þissum hysse hold gewurde 550  
 ond hine geongne geofum wyrðodest,  
 wīs on gewitte ond wordcwidum.  
 Ic æt efenealdum æfre ne mētte  
 on mōdsefan māran snyttro."  
 Him ðā of cēole oncwæð cyninga wuldor, 555  
 frægn fromlice fruma ond ende :  
 "Saga, þances glēaw þegn, gif ðū cunne,  
 hū ðæt gewurde be werum twēonum,  
 þæt ðā ārlēasan inwidþancum,  
 Iūdēa cynn wið Godes bearne 560  
 āhōf hearmcwide. Hæleð unsælige  
 nō ðær gelyfdon in hira liffruman,  
 grome gealgmōde, þæt hē God wære,  
 þeah ðe hē wundra feala weorodum gecȳðde,  
 sweotulra ond gesȳnra ; synnige ne mihton 565  
 oncnāwan þæt cynebearn, sē ðe ācenned wearð  
 tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre hāleða cynne,

546 *Gn.* note mæge? — 547 *Gm.* misprint nu. — 550 *W.* e of hysse written upon an erasure. — 552 *MS.* wis ongewitte. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *B.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 81) wis on gewitte; *Gn.* wisan gewitte; *W.* wison gewitte. — 553 *Th.* æfen-. — 556 *K.*, *B.* fruman; *B.*<sup>2</sup> fruma. — 557 *W.* a discoloration in the *MS.* partially covers seven lines, especially the words gif (557), tveonū (558), ar (559), wið, bearne (560). These words are only faintly legible in the reproduction. — 559 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) reads ðæt arlease. — 561 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) unsælgē. — 562 *W.* *MS.* doubtfully no or ne; *Nap.* plainly no; the reproduction is not clearly legible; all *Edd.* no, except *B.* ne. — 564 *Gm.*, *K.* fela. *K.* gecȳððe.

eallum eorðwarum.    Æþelinge wēox  
 word ond wīsdōm,    ah hē þāra wundra ā,  
 dōmāgende,    dæl *nāenigne*    570  
 frætre þeode    beforan cȳðde."

Him ðā Andrēas    āgef andsware :  
 " Hū mihte þæt gewyrðan    in werþeode,  
 þæt ðū ne gehȳrde    Hælandes miht,  
 gumena lēofost,    hū hē his gif cȳðde    575  
 geond woruld wīde,    wealdendes bearn?  
 Sealde hē dumbum gesprec,    dēafe gehȳrdon,  
 healtum ond hrēofum    hyge blissode,  
 ðā þe limsēoce    lange wæron,  
 wērige, wanhāle,    wītum gebundene,    580  
 æfter burhstedum    blinde gesēgon ;  
 swā | hē on grundwæge    gumena cynnes    [f.37<sup>a</sup>]  
 manige missenlice    men of dēaðe  
 worde āwehte.    Swylce hē ēac wundra feala  
 cynerōf cȳðde    þurh his cræftes miht.    585  
 Hē gehālgode    for heremægene  
 win of wætere    ond wendan hēt,  
 beornum tō blisse,    on þā beteran gecynd.  
 Swylce hē āfēdde    of fixum twām  
 ond of fīf hlāfum    fīra cynnes    590  
 fīf ðūsendo ;    fēðan sæton,  
 rēonigmōde,    reste gefēgon,  
 wērige æfter wāðe,    wiste þēgon,  
 menn on moldan,    swā him gemēdost wæs.  
 Nū ðū miht gehȳran,    hyse lēofesta,    595  
 hū ūs wuldres weard    wordum ond dædum

69 *Gn.* and *for* ah. — 570 *MS.*, *Edd.* dom agende. *MS.*, *Edd.* ænigne. — 573  
*as MS.* gewyrðan. — 575 *Gn.* gife; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i, 505, gif. — 580 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x,  
 ) gebundne. — 582 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) -wege. — 592 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* (alternative  
*nig-*), *K.*, *W.*, *B.* reomigmod; *Gn.* note, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 506) rēonigmod. —  
*Th.*, *K.* wæðe; *Gm.*, *Gn.* wæðe.

lufode in life,      ond þurh lāre spēon  
 tō þām fægeran gefēan,      þær frēo mōton,  
 ēadige mid englum,      eard weardigan,  
 þā ðe æfter dēaðe      Dryhten sēcað."      600

## [VI]

Ðā gēn wēges weard      wordhord onlēac,  
 beorn ofer bolcan,      beald reordade :  
 "Miht ðū mē gesecean,      þæt ic sōð wite,  
 hwæðer wealdend þīn      wundor on eorðan,  
 þā hē gefremede      nālas fēam siðum,      605  
 folcum tō frōfre      beforan cýðde,  
 þær bisceopas      ond bōceras  
 ond ealdormenn      æht besæton,  
 mæðelhægende?      Mē þæt þinceð,  
 ðæt hīe for æfstum      inwit syredon      610  
 þurh dēopne gedwolan ;      dēofles lārum  
 hæleð hynfūse      hýrdon tō georne,  
 wrāðum wærlogan.      Hīe sēo wyrd beswāc,  
 forleolc ond forlærde.      Nū hīe lungre sceolon,  
 wērige mid wērigum,      wræce þrōwian,      615  
 biterne bryne      on |banan fæðme."      [f. 37<sup>b</sup>]  
 Him ðā Andrēas      āgef ondsware :  
 "Secge ic ðē tō sōðe,      ðæt hē swīðe oft  
 beforan fremede      folces ræswum  
 wundor æfter wundre      on wera gesiehðe ;      620

599 *W.* a discoloration in the *MS.*, covering -se leof- (595), -fode in life 7 þurh (597), þær (598). Plainly legible in the reproduction. — 601 *Edd.* weges (*K.* tr. 'ruler of the wave'); cf. 632<sup>a</sup>. — 607 *Gm.*, *K.* biscopas. — 608 *Gm.*, *K.* -men. *Gm.* æht. — 609 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* -hegende; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> -hēgende. — 614 *K.*, *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* ferleolc; *B.*<sup>2</sup> forleolc. — 615 *Gm.* wræce; *K.* wrace. — 616 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 496) bitterne. *W.* on f. 37<sup>b</sup> are numerous blots, probably caused by acids, but the text is nowhere illegible. — 618 *Gm.*, *K.* Sage for Secge.

swylce dēogollice    Dryhten gumena  
folcræd fremede,    swā hē tō friðe hogode.”

Him ondsvarode    æðelinga helm :  
“Miht ðū, wīs hæleð,    wordum geseccan,  
māga mōde rōf,    mægen þā hē cȳðde,    625  
dēormōd on dīgle,    ðā mid Dryhten oft,  
rodera rædend,    rūne besæton?”

Him þā Andrēas    ondsware āgef :  
“Hwæt frīnest ðū mē,    frēa lēofesta,  
wordum wrætlicum,    ond þēh wyrda gehwære    630  
þurh snyttra cræft    sōð oncnāwest?”

Ðā gīt him wāges weard    wiðþingode :  
“Ne frīne ic ðē for tæle    nē ðurh tēoncwīde  
on hranrāde,    ac mīn hīge blīssað,  
wynnum wrīðað,    þurh þīne wordlæde,    635  
æðelum ēcne.    Nē eom ic āna ðæt,  
ac manna gehwām    mōd bið on hyhte,  
fyrhð āfrēfred,    þām þe feor oððe nēah  
on mōde geman,    hū se māga fremede,  
godbearn on grundum.    Gāstas hweorfon,    640  
sōhton sīðfrome    swegles drēamas,  
engla ēðel    þurh þā æðelan miht.”

Ēdre him Andrēas    āgef ondsware :  
“Nū ic on þē sylfum    sōð oncnāwe  
wīsdōmes gewit,    wundorcræfte    645  
sigespēd geseald    (snyttrum blōweð  
beorhtre blisse    brēost innanweard),  
nū ic þē sylfum    secgan wille

2. *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) suggests *tō frioðe hogde*. — 630 *MS.*, *Edd.* *þe* (at end of in the *MS.*); *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) *þeh* = *þeah*. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 485) *gehwæm*, (*PBB.* xxi, 12) *gehwæs*, for *gehwære*. — 631 *Gm.*, *K.* *snyttru*. — 632 *Gn.* *ingode*. — 633 *Th.* as *MS.* *frīne*, text *frīne*. — 633<sup>b</sup> *MS.*, *Gn.*, *B.* *nu for ne*. — *B.* *hyge*. — 635 *Gm.*, *K.* *wordlæde*. — 637 *MS.* *gehwæm*; *Edd.* *gehwam*, *B.* *gehwæm*. — 640 *Gm.*, *K.* *hwurfon*. — 645 *K.* *-crafte*.

oor ond ende,      swā ic þæs æðelinges  
 word ond wīsdōm      on wera gemōte 650  
 purh his sylfes mūd      symle gehyrdē.  
 Oft ge|samnodon      sīde herigeas, [f. 38<sup>a</sup>]  
 folc unmeāte,      tō Frēan dōme,  
 þær hie hyrcnodon      hāliges lāre.  
 Ðonne eft gewāt      æðelinga helm, 655  
 beorht blædgifa,      in bold oðer,  
 ðær him tōgenes,      God herigende,  
 tō ðām meðelstede      manige cōmon,  
 snottre selerædend;      symble gefēgon,  
 beornas blīðheorte,      burhweardes cyme. 660  
 Swā gesælde iu,      þæt se sigedēma  
 fērde, Frēa mihtig;      (næs þær folces mā  
 on sīðfate,      sīnra lēoda,  
 nemne ellefne      ōrettmægga,  
 geteled tīrēadige;      hē wæs twelfta sylf. 665  
 þā wē becōmon      tō þām cynestōle,  
 þær getimbred wæs      tempel Dryhtnes,  
 hēah ond horngēap,      hæleðum gefrēge,  
 wuldre gewlitegod.      Huscworde ongan  
 purh inwitðanc      ealdorsācerd 670  
 herme hyspan,      hordlocan onspēon,  
 wrōht webbade;      hē on gewitte oncnēow,

649 *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, *B.* ōr. — 657 *Gm.* to genes. — 658 *K.* misprint eomon. — 659 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.* snottre. *Th.*, *Gm.* sele rædend. *Edd.* symble (*adv.*), except *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> symblē (*inst.*): 'im Glossar ist die Stelle unter symbel (*festivitas*, etc.) nachzutragen und unter symble, *adv.*, zu streichen.' — 660 *W.* the two letters after bl- illegible; *Nap.* reads -ið. In the reproduction a rectangular blot extends down the right side of f. 38<sup>a</sup> from the fourth to the tenth line and across the ninth and tenth lines to the middle of the page, all of which space is illegible. — 663 *K.*, *B.* -fæte; *B.*<sup>2</sup> -fate. — 664 *K.*, *B.* elleffne; *B.*<sup>2</sup> ellefne. — 665 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -eadge. — 667 *W.* and *Nachtr.* the first e of getimbred illegible in the MS.; *Nap.* legibly but not clearly, atrimbred (misprint for atimbred?). — 669 *Gn.* us worde, *Spr.* i, 112 huscworde; *Simons* (p. 82, citing *Trautmann*) ūsic worde. — 672 *MS.* gewitte.

þæt wē sōðfæstes swaðe folgodon,  
 læston lārcwide ; hē lungre āhōf  
 wōðe wiðerhȳdig wēan onblonden : 675  
 ‘ Hwæt ! gē syndon earme ofer ealle menn ;  
 wadað widlāstas, weorn gefērað  
 earfoðsiða, ellpēodiges nū  
 būtan lēodrihte lārum hȳrað,  
 ēadiges orhlytte æðeling cȳðað, 680  
 secgað sōðlice, þæt mid suna meotudes  
 drohtigen dæghwæmlice. þæt is duguðum eūð,  
 hwanon þām ordfruman æðelu onwōcon ;  
 hē wæs āfēded on þysse folcsceare,  
 cildgeong ācenned mid his cnēomāgum ; 685  
 þus syndon hāten hāmsittende,  
 fæder ond mōdur, þæs wē gefrægen habbað  
 | þurh mōdgemynd, Maria ond Iōsēph. [f. 38<sup>b</sup>]  
 Sýndon him on æðelum oððere twēgen  
 beornas geborene, brōðorsybbum, 690  
 suna Iōsēphes, Simon ond Iācōb.  
 Swā hlēoðrodon hæleða ræswan,  
 dugoð dōmgeorne, dyrnan þōhton  
 Meotudes mihte. Mān eft gehwearf,  
 yfel endelēas, þær hit ær ārās. 695

## [VII]

“ þā se pēoden gewāt pegna hēape  
 fram þām meðelstede mihtum geswīðed,  
 dugeða Dryhten, sēcan dīgol land.

676 *B.* sindon. — 682 *MS.* drohtigen. *A.* hwamlice. — 689 *B.* sindon. *K.* omits on. — 690 *W.* the final e of geborene indistinct in the *MS.* — 693 *W.*'s statement, *Gm.* dugoðdomgeorne (also l. 878), applies only to *Gm.*'s note, not to his text. — 695 *W.* a letter erased in the *MS.* between yfel and ende-. — 696 *Th.* heare for heape ; *Gm.*, *K.* hearra ; *Gn.* as emendation heape.

Hē þurh wundra feala    on þām wēstenne  
 cræfta gecyðde,    þæt hē wæs cyning on riht    700  
 ofer middangeard,    mægene geswiðed,  
 waldend ond wyrhta    wuldorþrymmes,  
 ān ēce God    eallra gesceafta.  
 Swylce hē oðerra    unrīm cyðde  
 wundorworca    on wera gesyhðe.    705  
 “Syppan eft gewāt    oðre siðe  
 getrume mycle,    þæt hē in temple gestōd,  
 wuldres aldor.    Wordhlēoðor āstāg  
 geond hēahræced;    hāliges lāre  
 synnige ne swulgon,    þēah hē sōðra swā feala    710  
 tācna gecyðde,    þær hīe tō sēgon.  
 Swylce hē wrætlice    wundor āgræfene,  
 anlicnesse    engla sīnra  
 geseh, sigora Frēa,    on seles wāge,  
 on twā healfe    torhte gefrætwed,    715  
 wlitige geworhte.    Hē worde cwæð:  
 ‘Dis is anlicnes    engelcynna  
 þæs brēmestan    [þe] mid þām burgwarum  
 in þære ceastre is;    Cheruphim et Seraphim  
 þā on swegeldrēamum    syndon nemned;    720  
 fore onsýne    ēcan Dryhtnes  
 standað | stiðferðe,    stefnum herigað,    [f. 39<sup>a</sup>]  
 hālgum hlēoðrum,    heofoncyniges þrym,  
 Meotudes mundbyrd.    Hēr āmearcod is  
 hāligra hīw,    þurh handmægen    725

709 *Gm.*, *K.* -reced. — 710 *Nap. MS.* hie *not* he; *so plainly in the reproduction*; *all Edd.* he *without remark*. — 711 *Edd.* tosegon, *except Gm.*, *Gn.* to segon. — 712 *MS.* wundor a<sup>g</sup>ræfene; *Edd.* wundoragræfene; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) wundrum agræfene; *Gn. Nachtr.* wundor agræfene? *but Spr.* ii, 752, wundoragræfene. — 718<sup>b</sup> *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) supplies þe. — 719<sup>a</sup> *Root* (*p.* 57) omits is. — 719 *Gn.*, *K.*, *B.* ond; *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* ȝ; *B.*<sup>2</sup> et. — 722 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* -ferhðe.

āwriten on wealle      wuldres þegnas.  
 þā' gēn worde cwæð      weoruda Dryhten,  
 heofonhālig gāst,      fore þām heremægene :  
 ' Nū ic bebēode      bēacen ætȳwan,  
 wundor geweorðan      on wera gemange,      730  
 ðæt þēos onlicnes      eorðan sēce,  
 wlitig of wāge,      ond word sprece,  
 secge sōðcwidum      (þȳ sceolon gelyfan  
 eorlas on cȳððe)      hwæt mīn æðelo sīen.'  
 " Ne dorste þā forhyلمان      Hælendes bebod      735  
 wundor fore weorodum,      ac of weallē āhlēop,  
 frōd fyrngeweorc,      þæt hē on foldan stōd,  
 stān fram stāne ;      stefn æfter cwōm,  
 hlūd þurh heardne,      hlēoðor dynede,  
 wordum wēmdre      (wrætlic pūhte      740  
 stiðhycgendum      stānes ongin),  
 septe sācerdas      sweotolum tācnum,  
 wītig werede      ond worde cwæð :  
 ' Gē synd unlāede,      earmra gepohta  
 searowum beswicene,      oððe sēl nyton,      745  
 mōde gemyrde ;      gē mon cīgað  
 Godes ēce bearn,      þone þe grund ond sund,  
 heofon ond eorðan      ond hrēo wāegas,  
 salte sāestrēamas      ond swegl uppe  
 āmearcodre      mundum sīnum.      750  
 Þis is se ilca      ealwalda God,

726 *Holthausen (PBB. xvi, 550) þegna.* — 733 *After soðcwidum Gn. supposes an omission in the narrative, and supplies as follows: secge soðcwidum, [þæt ic eom sunu godes]; þȳ sceolon gelyfan [leoda ræswan] etc. There is no indication of a break in the MS.* — 736 *Th., Gm. ahleow; Gm. note ahleop.* — 740 *Th. as MS. þrætlic, text wrætlic.* — 741 *Gn. onginn.* — 742 *MS. plainly septe; Th. text septe, note 'MS. septe or sewte, uncertain'; Gm. text septe, but note sewte or sewde; Gn. sewde; K. sewte saverdas (tr. 'It taught the priests').* — 743 *Cos. (PBB. xxi, 12) wenede.* — 744 *K. earma; B. incorrectly earma as MS.* — 746 *MS., Edd. ge monetigað; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 12) ge mon cīgað.* — 747 *MS., Edd. ond before þone.*



ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cūðon ;  
 hē Ābrahāme ond Īsāce  
 ond Iōcōbe gife bryttode,  
 welum weorðode, wordum sægde 755  
 ærest Hābrahāme æðeles geþingu,  
 þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde  
 weorðan wuldres God. Is sēo wyrd mid ēow  
 open, orgete ; magan ēagum nū  
 gesēon sigores God, swegles āgend.' 760  
 “Æfter þyssum | wordum weorud hlosnode [f. 39<sup>b</sup>]  
 geond þæt sīde sel, swīgodon ealle.  
 Ðā ðā yldestan eft ongunnon  
 secgan synfulle (sōð ne oncnēowan),  
 þæt hit drȳcræftum gedōn wære, 765  
 scingelācum, þæt se scȳna stān  
 mælde for mannum. Mān wrīdode  
 geond beorna brēost, brandhāta nīð  
 wēoll on gewitte, weorm blædum fāg,  
 āttor ælfæle. þær orcnāwe [wearð] 770  
 þurh tēoncwide twēogende mōd,  
 mæcga misgehygd morðre bewunden.  
 “ Ðā se þēoden bebēad þrȳðweorc faran,  
 stān [on] stræte of stedewange,  
 ond forð gān foldweg tredan, 775

754 *MS.* iocobe ; *Th.* iacobe ; *Gm., K., Gn.* Jacobe ; *B.* Iacobe ; *W.* Iocobe. *Th., Gn.* gyfe. — 756 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 758 *Nap.* as *MS.* ys ; but the reproduction reads plainly is. — 759 *Gm.* note ongete. — 761 *K.* Æfer. — 769 *K.* fæg. — 770 *MS.* ælfæle, *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* alfæle ; *Th., Gm., Gn.* ælfæle ; *K., B.* alfæle ; *B.* ælfæle ; *Gm.* note ælfæle ? ælfealo ? ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) citing Kern (*Taalk. bijdr.* i, 206), ealfe[a]lo. *Th., Gm.* note oncnawe. *Gm., K., B.* supply wearð after, *Gn., W.* before, orcnawe ; *Th.* makes no addition to the text. In the *MS.* orcnawe stands at the end of a line. — 772 *Th., Gm., K., Gn.* misgehyd. — 774 *K., Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) stan [on] stræte. In the *MS.* stan stands at the end of a line. — 775 *MS., Gn., W.* forð gan ; *Th., Gm., K., B.* forðgan ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 477) would resolve the contraction.

grēne grundas,      Godes ærendu  
 lārum lādan      on þā lēodmearce  
 tō Channanēum,      cyninges worde  
 bēodan Hābrahāme      mid his eaforum twām  
 of eorðscræfe      ærest fremman,      780  
 lāetan landreste,      leoðo gadrigean,  
 gāste onfōn      ond geogoðhāde,  
 edniwinga      andweard cuman,  
 frōde fyrnweotan,      folce gecyðan,  
 hwylcne hīe God mihtum      ongiten hæfdon.      785  
 Gewāt hē þā fēran,      swā him Frēa mihtig,  
 scyppend wera,      gescrifen hæfde,  
 ofer mearcpaðu,      þæt hē on Mambre becōm  
 beorhte blīcan,      swā him bebēad Meotud,  
 þær þā lichoman      lange þrāge,      790  
 hēahfædera hrā,      beheled wæron.  
 Hēt þā ofstlice      ūp āstandan  
 Hābrahām ond Īsaac,      æðeling þridan  
 Iācōb of grēote      tō Godes gepinge,  
 snēome of slæpe þām fæstan;      hēt hīe tō þām sīðe gyrwan,      795  
 fāran tō Frēan dōme;      sceoldon hīe þām folce gecyðan,  
 hwā æt frumsceaftē      furðum tēode  
 eorðan eallgrēne      ond ūpheofon,  
 hwær |se wealdend wære,      þe þæt weorc staðolade.      [f. 40<sup>a</sup>]  
 Ne dorston þā gelettan      leng ōwihte      800  
 wuldorcyniges word;      geweotan ðā ðā wītigan þrȳ

776 *Th.* incorrectly as *MS.* ærenðu. — 779 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 780 *K.*, *Gn.* ærist.  
 — 782 *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p. 29) would supply ond before gaste. *MS.*, *Edd.*  
 ofon; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 476) would give the uncontracted form. *K.* geogoðhades;  
*Gn.* geoguðhade. — 783 *K.* edniwinge. — 785 *Gn.* note god-mihtum? also *Spr.* ii,  
 22 without question. — 788 *Gm.* note, *K.* mearcwaðu; *Gn.* incorrectly ascribes -wadu  
 to *Gm.*, *K.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* Membre. — 790 *W.* after þær a second þær erased in  
 the *MS.* — 792 *K.* ofslice. *Th.*, *K.*, *B.* upastandan. — 796 *Gm.* sceolden. — 798 *K.*  
 algrene. — 801 *K.* -ceyniges. *B.* geweoton, *B.*<sup>2</sup> geweotan.

mōdige mearcland tredan; forlætan moldern wunigean  
 open eorðscræfu; woldon hie ædre gecyðan  
 frumweorca fæder. þā þæt folc gewearð  
 egesan geāclod, þær þā æðelingas  
 wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor.  
 Hie ðā ricene hēt rices hyrde  
 tō ēadwelan oþre sīðe  
 sēcan mid sybbe swegles drēamas,  
 ond þæs tō wīdan fēore willum nēotan.

“Nū ðū miht gehýran, hyse lēofesta,  
 hū hē wundra worn wordum cýðde,  
 swā þeah ne gelyfdon lārum sīnum  
 mōdblinde menn. Ic wāt manig nū gýt  
 mycel mære spell, ðe se māga fremede,  
 rodera rædend, ðā ðū āræfnan ne miht,  
 hreðre behabban, hygeþances glēaw.”

þus Andrēas ondlangne dæg  
 herede hlēoðorcwidum hāliges lāre,  
 oððæt hine semninga slæp oferēode  
 on hronrāde heofoncynige nēh.

## [VIII]

Ðā gelædan hēt lifes brytta  
 ofer yða geþræc englās sīne,  
 fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære  
 lēofne mid lissum ofer lagufæsten,  
 oððæt sæwērige slæp oferēode.  
 þurh lyftgelāc on land becwōm

802 *K.* forlæton, *Gn.* note forlēton. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* place wunigean ; *Gn.*, *W.* in 802<sup>b</sup>. — 810 *MS.* plainly (so also *Nap.*) þæs; *Edd.* þær. — 814 *K.* 819 *MS.* berede; so *Th.*, *W.*; *Nap.* as *MS.* herede; *Th.*, *B.*, *W.* berede; *G C.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) herede. — 826 *Siev.* (*PBB.* -werge. — 827 *Gn.* lyft gelac, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> lyftgelac.

tō þære ceastre,    þe him cining engla  
 .   .   .   .   .   .  
 .   .   .    ðā þā āras siðigean,  
 ēadige on ūpweg,    eðles neosan. 830  
 Lēton þone hālgan    be herestræte  
 swefan on sybbe    under swegles hlēo,  
 blīðne bīdan    burhwealle nēh,  
 his nīðhetum,    nihtlangne fyrst,  
 oðþæt Dryhten |forlēt    dæg candelle    [f. 40<sup>b</sup>] 835  
 scīre scīnan.    Sceadu sweðerodon,  
 wonn under wolcnum.    þā cōm wederes blæst,  
 hādor heofonlēoma,    ofer hofu blīcan.  
 Onwōc þā wīges heard,    wang scēawode ;  
 fore burggeatum    beorgas stēape, 840  
 hleoðu hlīfodon ;    ymbe hārne stān  
 tigelfāgan trafu,    torras stōdon,  
 windige weallas.    þā se wīsa oncnēow,  
 þæt hē Marmedonia    mægðe hæfde  
 siðe gesōhte,    swā him sylf bebēad, 845

828 *Th.*, after engla, 'Some lines are wanting here, though there is no hiatus in the MS.' *Gm.*, *K.* leave space for one and a half lines after engla. *Gn.* fills in as follows:

þe him cining engla  
 [in Achaia    ær getacnode].  
 [Gewiton] þa þa aras    [eft] siðigean, etc.

*W.* admits the break in the narrative but does not supply the omission. *C.* omits ll. 826–831, saying they 'are probably corrupt and are therefore omitted.' *B.* alone sees no interruption of the narrative here ; he arranges as follows :

þe him cining engla þa þa  
 aras siðigean eadige on upweg, eðles neosan.

*B.*<sup>2</sup> emends the second þa, l. 829<sup>b</sup>, to þær, and reads :

þe him cining  
 engla þa þær    aras siðigean, etc.

The hypothetical line following l. 828 is not counted in the line-numbering. — 838 MS. le<sup>o</sup>ma. — 841 MS. hleoðu, but *Th.* hleoðū ; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, consequently, hleoðum. — 843 MS., *Edd.* wis ; *Gm.* note 'se vis für se visa?'

þā hē him fōre gescrāf,      fæder mancynnes.  
 Geseh hē þā on grēote      gingran sīne,  
 beornas beadurōfe,      bīryhte him  
 swefan on slæpe.      Hē sōna ongann  
 wīgend weccēan,      ond worde cwæð :  
 “ Ic ēow secgan mæg      sōð orgete,  
 þæt ūs gystrandæge      on geofones strēam  
 ofer ārwelan      æðeling ferede.  
 In þām cēole wæs      cyninga wuldor,  
 waldend werðēode ;      ic his word oncnēow,  
 þēh hē his mægwlite      bemiðen hæfde.”

Him þā æðelingas      ondsweorodon,  
 geonge gēncwidum,      gāstgerȳnum :  
 “ Wē ðē, Andrēas,      ēaðe gecȳðað  
 sīð ūserne,      þæt ðū sylfa miht  
 ongitan glēawlice      gāstgehygdum.  
 Ūs sǣwērige      slæp oferēode ;  
 þā cōmon earnas      ofer ȳða wylm  
 [faran] on flyhte,      feðerum hrēmige,  
 ūs ofslæpendum      sǣwle ābrugdon,  
 mid gefēan feredon      flyhte on lyfte,  
 brehtmun bliðe,      beorhte ond liðe ;  
 lissum lufodon      ond in lofe wunedon,  
 þær wæs singāl sang      ond swegles gong,

846 *MS.*, *Nap.* þā he him ; *Th.* þā him ; *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.*, *W.* þam him ; *Gn.* þā by and ; *C.* changes þā (*i.e.* þam) to þa = *when*. *Th.* fore-gescraf ; (*C.* foregescraf ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> (fore = *zuvor*), *B.*, *W.* fore gescraf. *Cos.* (*PBB.* xx *plies* þa before fore. — 852 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* gyrstran ; *Edd.* gystran dæge, gystrandæge. — 855 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* weorðode ; *Th.* suggests wer-ðeode *Gn.* werþeoda, *W.*, *C.* werðeode ; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) weoroda. — 859 *B.* eade ; *B.*<sup>2</sup> eaðe — 862 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) sǣwerge. — 864 *MS.*, *Th.* *W.* wylm on flyhte, *without break* ; *Gn.*, *C.* supply faran before on flyh (*PBB.* x, 459) hremge. — 865 *Edd.* of slæpendum. — 867 *K.* brehtum. — *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* hi for in. — 869 *C.* ond *miswritten for geond?* ; but the *MS* customary abbreviation. *Simons* (*p.* 131) suggests sweges for swegles.

wlitig weoroda hēap    ond wuldres prēat. 870  
 Ūtan ymbe æðelne    englas stōdon,  
 þegnas ymb þēoden,    þūsendmælum;  
 heredon on hēhðo    hālgan stefne  
 dryhtna Dryhten;    drēam wæs on hyhte.  
 Wē ðær |hēahfæderas    hālige oncnēowon [f. 41<sup>a</sup>] 875  
 ond martyra    mægen unlȳtel;  
 sungon sigedryhtne    sōðfæstlic lof,  
 dugoð dōmgeorne.    þær wæs Dāuid mid,  
 ēadig ōretta,    Essāges sunu,  
 for Crīst cumen,    cining Israhēla; 880  
 swylce wē gesēgon    for suna Meotudes,  
 æðelum ēcne,    ēowic standan,  
 twelfe getealde,    tīrēadige hæleð;  
 ēow þegnodon    þrymsittende,  
 hālige hēahenglas;    ðām bið hæleða well, 885  
 þe þāra blissa    brūcan mōton.  
 þær wæs wuldres wynn,    wīgendra þrym,  
 æðelic onginn;    næs þær ænigum gewinn.  
 þām bið wræcsið witod,    wīte geopenad,  
 þe þāra [gefēana] sceal    fremde weorðan, 890  
 hēan hwearfian,    þonne heonon gangaþ.”  
 þā wæs mōdsefa    myclum geblissod  
 hāliges on hreðre,    syðþan hlēoðorcwide  
 gingran gehȳrdon,    þæt hīe God wolde  
 onmunan swā mycles    ofer menn ealle, 895  
 ond þæt word gecwæð    wīgendra hlēo:  
 “Nū ic, God Dryhten,    ongiten hæbbe,  
 þæt ðū on faroðstræte    feor ne wære,  
 cyninga wuldur,    þā ic on cēol gestāh,

871 *Th.* utan-ymbe. — 874 *Simons* (*p.* 85) reads hȳhðe? — 889 *MS.* þe erased after  
 geopenad. — 890<sup>a</sup> *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* insert gefeana after þara, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82)  
 frean. *K.* seal. — 891 *Gn.* gangeð. — 894 *K.* gehyrde. — 899 *Gm.*, *K.* wuldor.

ðēh ic on yðfare, engla þēoden, 900  
gāsta gēocend, ongitan ne cūðe.

Weorð mē nū milde, Meotud ælmihtig,  
bliðe, beorht cyning! Ic on brimstrēame  
spræc worda worn, wāt æfter nū,  
hwā mē wyrðmyndum on wudubāte 905

ferede ofer flōdas; þæt is frōfre gāst  
hæleða cynne. þær is help gearu,  
milt æt mærum, manna gehwylcum,  
sigorspēd geseald, þām þe sēceð tō him."

Ðā him fore ēagum onsýne wearð 910  
æðeling oðýwed in þā ilcan tīd,  
cining cwicera gehwæs, þurh cnihtes hād;  
þā hē worde cwæð, wuldres aldor:

"Wes ðū, |Andrēas, hāl, mid þās willgedryht, [f. 41<sup>b</sup>]  
ferðgefeonde! Ic þē friðe healde, 915  
þæt þē ne mōton māngeniðlan,  
grame grynsmiðas, gāste gesceððan."

Fēoll þā tō foldan, frioðo wilnode  
wordum wīs hæleð, winedryhten frægn:  
"Hū geworhte ic þæt, waldend fīra, 920  
synnig wið seolfne, sāwla nergend,  
þæt ic þē swā gōdne ongitan ne meahte  
on wægfare, þær ic worda gespræc,  
mīnra for Meotude, mā þonne ic sceolde?"

Him andswarode ealwalda God: 925  
"Nō ðū swā swiðe synne gefremedest,  
swā ðū in Achaia ondsæc dydest,  
ðæt ðū on feorwegas fēran ne cūðe

905 *Gn.* weorðmyndum. — 907 *MS.* þær<sup>is</sup> help. — 910 *Th.* on syne. *MS., Th.* werð. — 915 *Th., Gm., Gn., W.* ferð gefeonde; but *W. l. 1584<sup>a</sup>* reads ferhðgefeonde. *Gn.* forð? for ferð. — 918 *K.* freoðo. — 925 *B.* ond-, *B.<sup>2</sup>* as *MS.* — 927 *MS.* ach<sup>a</sup>ia. — 928 *K.* feor wegas.

nē in þā ceastre    becuman mehte,  
 þing gehēgan    þrēora nihta    930  
 fyrstgemearces,    swā ic þē fēran hēt  
 ofer wēga gewinn.    Wāst nū þē gearwor,  
 þæt ic ēaðe mæg    ānra gehwylcne  
 fremman ond fyrþran    frēonda mīnra  
 on landa gehwylc,    þær mē lēofost bið.    935  
 Ārīs nū hrædlice,    ræd ædre ongit,  
 beorn gebledsod,    swā þē beorht fæder  
 geweorðað wuldorgifum    tō wīdan aldre,  
 cræfte ond mihte.    Ðū in þā ceastre gong  
 under burglocan,    þær þīn brōðor is.    940  
 Wāt ic Māthēus    þurh mænra hand  
*hrinen* heorudolgum,    hēafodmāgan  
 searonettum beseted;    þū hine sēcan scealt,  
 lēofne ālȳsan    of lāðra hete  
 ond eal þæt mancynn,    þe him mid wunige,    945  
 elpēodigra    inwitwrāsum,  
 bealuwe gebundene.    Him sceal bōt hraðe  
 weorþan in worulde    ond in wuldre lēan,  
 swā ic him sylfum ær    secgende wæs.

## [IX]

“|Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt    ēdre genēðan [f. 42<sup>a</sup>] 950  
 in gramra gripe;    is þē gūð weotod,  
 heardum heoruswengum    scel þīn hrā dæled

929 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* meahte; *B.*<sup>2</sup> mehte. — 932 *Gm.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> wega. — 942 *MS.*, *Edd.* *hrinan*. *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* -magū, *i.e.* -magum; *B.*, *W.* -magu; *Gm. note*, *K.*, *Gn.* -magan. — 943 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* -mettum, *Gm. note*, *Edd.* -nettum. — 945 *K.* manegu for mancynn. — 946 *K.* ælpeodigra. — 947 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) gebundne; *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) gebunden. — 949 *Nap.* at lower edge of f. 41<sup>b</sup> the word eadgip, afterwards erased. — 952 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* sceal. *MS.*, *Edd.* dælan; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) dæled.



wundum weorðan,      wættre geliccost  
 faran flōde blōd.      Hīe þīn feorh ne magon  
 dēaðe gedælan,      þēh ðū drype ðolie,      955  
 synnigra slege.      Ðū þæt sār āber;  
 ne læt þē āhweorfan      hāðenra þrym,  
 grim gārgewinn,      þæt ðū Gode swīce,  
 Dryhtne þīnum.      Wes ā dōmes georn;  
 læt ðē on gemyndum,      hū þæt manegum wearð      960  
 fīra gefrēge      geond feala landa,  
 þæt mē bysmredon      bennum fæstne  
 weras wansælige; wordum tyrgdon,  
 slōgon ond swungon;      synnige ne mihton  
 þurh sārwide      sōð gecyðan.      965  
 þā ic mid Iūdēum      gealgan þehte  
 (rōd wæs āræred),      þær rinca sum  
 of mīnre sīdan      swāt ūt forlēt,  
 drēor tō foldan.      Ic ādrēah feala  
 yrmþa ofer eorðan;      wolde ic ēow on ðon      970  
 þurh blīðne hige      bysne onstellan,  
 swā on ellþēode      ywed wyrðeð.  
 Manige syndon      in þysse mæran byrig,  
 þāra þe ðū gehweorfest      tō heofonlēohte  
 þurh mīnne naman,      þēah hīe morðres feala      975  
 in fyrndagum      gefremed habban."  
 Gewāt him þā se hālga      heofonas sēcan,  
 eallra cyninga cining,      þone clāenan hām,  
 ēaðmēdum upp;      þær is ār gelang  
 fīra gehwylcum,      þām þe hīe findan cann.      980  
     Ðā wæs gemyndig      mōdgeþyldig,  
 beorn beaduwe heard;      ēode in burh hraðe

953 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gelicost. — 956 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 455 slage. —  
 962 *Gn.* hu me; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> þæt me. *Gn.*, *W.* bendum. — 963 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -sælge.  
 — 970 *Gm.* omits ic. — 971 *Gn.* bysen. — 972 *Gm.* yweð. — 976 *K.* habben.

anræd ðretta, elne gefyrðred,  
 māga mōde rōf, Meotude getrēowe,  
 stōp on stræte (stig wisode), 985  
 swā him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,  
 |synfulra gesēon. Hæfde sigora weard [f. 42<sup>b</sup>]  
 on þām wangstede wære betolden  
 lēofne lēodfruman mid lofe sīnum.  
 Hæfde þā se æðeling in geþrunge, 990  
 Crīstes cempa, carcerne nēh.  
 Geseh hē hæðenra hlōð ætgædere,  
 fore hlindura hyrdas standan,  
 seofone ætsomne. Ealle swylt fornam,  
 druron dōmlēase; dēaðræs forfēng 995  
 hæleð heorodrēorige. Ðā se hālga gebæd  
 bilwyrtne fæder, brēostgehygdum  
 herede on hēhðo heofoncyniges [þrym],  
 Godes dryhtendōm. Duru sōna onarn  
 purh handhrine hāliges gāstes, 1000  
 ond þær in ēode, elnes gemyndig,  
 hæle hildedēor; hæðene swæfon,  
 drēore druncne, dēaðwang rudon.  
 Geseh hē Māthēus in þām morðorcofan,  
 hæleð higerōfne under heolstorlocan, 1005  
 secgan Dryhtne lof, dōmweorðinga

986 *Gn.* note hine for him. — 987 *B.* ond synfulra; *B.*<sup>2</sup> omits ond. — 990 *Edd.* geþrunge. — 996 *MS.*, *B.* -deorig; *Edd.* -dreorig. — 998 *MS.* heofoncyniges gōd dryhten dom with no indication of an omission. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* god dryhten dom; *B.*, *W.* dryhtendom; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> godes dryhtendom? so also *Spr. i.*, *S.*, adding 'wol kaum god-dryhten-dom.' *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) heofoncyniges dōm, dryhtendom godes; or heofonrices god, dryhtnes ecne dom? *Simons* (p. 28) dryhtendom reads in dryhtnes domas (gōd evidently intended to follow heofoncyniges in 998<sup>b</sup>). *Buttenwieser* (p. 46) heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtlic dom godes. 999 *K.* dura. — 1000 *MS.*, *Th.* hanhrine. — 1001 *Edd.*, except *K.*, ineode. — 1003 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) beore for dreore. *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* dēað wangrudon; *K.* dēaðwang ridon.

engla ðeodne.    Hē ðær āna sæt  
 geohðum gēomor    in þām gnornhofe ;  
 geseh þā under swegle    swæsne gefēran,  
 hālig hāligne ;    hyht wæs geniwad. 100  
 Arās þā tōgēnes,    Gode þancade,  
 þæs ðe hie onsunde    æfre mōston  
 gesēon under sunnan.    Syb wæs gemæne  
 bām þām gebrōðrum,    blis edniwe ;  
 æghwæðer oðerne    earme bepehte, 10    15  
 cyston hie ond clypton.    Crīste wæron bēgen  
 lēofe on mōde ;    hie lēoht ymbscān  
 hālig ond heofontorht ;    hreðor imman wæs  
 wynnum āwelled.    þā worde ongan  
 ærest Andrēas    æðelne gefēran 10 = 20  
 on clustorcleofan    mid cwide sīnum  
 grētan godfyrhtne ;    sæde him gūðgeðingu,  
 feohtan fāra monna :    “ Nū is þīn folc on luste,  
 hæleð hyder on    .    .    .

\* \* \*

.    .    .    | gewyrht    eardes nēosan.” [f. 43<sup>a</sup>] 102

Æfter þyssum wordum    wuldres þegnas,  
 bēgen þā gebrōðor,    tō gebede hylton,  
 sendon hira bēne    fore bearn Godes.  
 Swylce se hālgas    in þām hearmlocan  
 his God grētte    ond him gēoce bæd, 103  
 Hælend helpe,    ær þan hrā crunge  
 fore hæðenra    hildeþrymme,  
 ond þā gelædde    of leoðobendum

1008 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* geohðum ; *Gn. note, Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 500) geohðum. *K.* im.  
 — 1009 *Gm.*, *K.* þær for þa. — 1012 *K.* þæt for þæs. — 1018 *K.* hreðer. — 1019 *B.*,  
*W.* winnum. — 1022 *Gm.* -gedingu, corrected on p. 182. — 1023 *Edd.*, *Nap.* a folio  
 excised after f. 42. *K.* indicates a break in the sense both before and after gewyrht.  
 — 1030 *MS.* grete. — 1031 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ærþon. *MS.* crung; *W.* as *MS.* crung,  
 corrected *Nachtr.* p. 564. — 1032 *Gm.* hilde þrymme.

fram þām fæstenne      on frið Dryhtnes  
 tū ond hundtēontig      geteled rīme, 1035  
 swylce fēowertig,  
 generede fram niðe      (þær hē nænigne forlēt  
 under burglocan      bennum fæstne),  
 ond þær wīfa þā gýt,      weorodes tō ēacan,  
 ānes wana þe fiftig 1040  
 forhte gefreoðode.      Fægen wæron siðes,  
 lungre lēordan,      nālas lēng bidon  
 in þām gnornhofe      gūðgeþingo.  
 Gewāt þā Māthēus      menigo lædan  
 on gehyld Godes,      swā him se hālga bebēad; 1045  
 weorod on wilsīð      wolcnum bepehte,

1036 MS. swylce feowertig generede etc. with no indication of omission. Th. after  
 eowertig 'a line [i.e. a half-line, for which he leaves space] is wanting'; Gm., K. as  
 Th.; Gn. inserts eac feorcundra to complete the line. B. arranges:

swylce feowertig      generede fram niðe.  
 þær he nænige forlet      under burglocan  
 bennum fæstne on,      þær wīfa þā gýt  
 weorodes to-eacan,      anes wana fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode.

W. reads:

swylce seofontig  
 generede fram niðe:      þær he nænigne forlet  
 under burglocan      bendum fæstne,  
 ond þær wīfa þā gýt      weorodes to eacan  
 anes wana . . .      þe fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode.

Cos. (PBB. xxi, 13) swylce feowertig [eac feorrancumene]. See Notes.—1037  
 MS., Th., Gm., K., B. nænige.—1038 Th., K., Gn., W. bendum.—1039 MS.,  
 Th., Gm., B. on for ond; Gm. note ond; K. ne. K., B. to-eacan.—1040 MS., with  
 no indication of omission, anes wana þe fiftig; anes ends a line, wana begins follow-  
 ing line; W. incorrectly, 'wana þe fiftig mitten in der Zeile.' Th., after wana,  
 'the want of connection in the sense and of alliteration shows that this part of the  
 MS. is very defective'; Gm. and K. suppose that more than one line is wanting.  
 Gn. omits þe and supplies ealra, reading anes wana ealra fiftig, etc. For B. and W.  
 cf. above, l. 1036 ff.; B.<sup>2</sup>, changing þær to þæm, 1039<sup>a</sup>, reads anes wana orwyrþe  
 fiftig etc. Cos. (PBB. xxi, 14) anes wana efne fiftig, but considers the first half-  
 line still defective.

þē lāes him scyldhatan    scyððan cōmon  
 mid earhfare,    ealdgeniðlan.  
 þær þā mōdigan mid him    mæðel gehēdan,  
 trēowgeþoftan,    ær hie on tū hweorfan ;                      1050  
 ægðer þāra eorla    oðrum trymede  
 heofonrices hyht,    helle wītu  
 wordum werede.    Swā ðā wīgend mid him,  
 hæleð higerōfe,    hālgum stefnum  
 cempa coste    cyning weorðadon,                      1055  
 wyrda waldend,    þæs wuldres ne bið  
 æfre mid eldum    ende befangen.

## [X]

Gewāt him þā Andrēas    inn on ceastre  
 glædmōd gangan,    tō þæs ðe hē gramra gemōt,  
 fāra folc|mægen,    gefrægen hæfde,                      [f. 43<sup>b</sup>] 1060  
 oððæt hē gemētte    be mearcþaðe  
 standan stræte nēah    stapul ærenne.  
 Gesæt him þā be healfe,    hæfde hlūttre lufan,  
 ēce ūpgemynd    engla blisse ;  
 þanon bāsnode — under burhlocan,                      1065  
 hwæt him gūðweorca    gifeðe wurde.  
 þā gesamnedon    sīde herigeas,  
 folces frumgāras ;    tō þām fæstenne  
 wærlēasra werod    wæpnum cōmon,  
 hæðne hildfreca,    tō þæs þā hæftas ær                      1070  
 under hlinscuwan    hearm prōwedon.  
 Wēndan ond woldon,    wiðerhycgende,  
 þæt hie on elpēodigum    æt geworhton,

1047 *Gn.* þy. — 1050 *Gn.* hi. — 1055 *K.* weorðodon. — 1058 *Th.* inn-on. — 1059  
*Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* as *MS.* gangen, *text* gangan. — 1064 *MS.* ece; cf. 637<sup>a</sup>; *Edd.* ece.  
 — 1070 *K.* þe for þa. — 1072 *Th.* -hycende. — 1073 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -þeodgum.

weotude wiste;    him sēo wēn gelāh,  
 syððan mid corðre    carcernes duru    1075  
 eorre æsberend    opene fundon,  
 onhliden hamera geweorc,    hyrdas dēade.  
 Hīe þā unhyðige    eft gecyrdon,  
 luste belorene,    lāðspell beran;  
 sægdon þām folce,    þæt ðær feorrcundra,    1080  
 ellreordigra,    ænigne tō lāfe  
 in carcerne    cwicne ne gemētton,  
 ah þær heorodreorige    hyrdas lāgan,  
 gæsne on grēote,    gāste berofene,  
 fægra flæschaman.    þā wearð forht manig    1085  
 for þām færspele    folces ræswa,  
 hēan, hygegēomor,    hungres on wēnum,  
 blātes beodgastes.    Nyston beteran ræd,  
 þonne hīe þā belidenan    him to lifnere,  
 [dēade] gefeormedon;    duruþegnum wearð    1090  
 in āne tid    eallum ætsomne  
 purh heard gelāc    hildbedd stýred.  
       Ðā ic lungre gefrægn    lēode tōsomne  
 burgwaru bannan;    beornas cōmon,  
 wiggendra þrēat,    wicgum gengan,    1095

1074 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 14) geleah; *B.*<sup>2</sup> gelah. — 1075 *K.* dura. — 1078 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* unhyðige; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> hyðige; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -hyðge. — 1079 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* lað spell; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> laðspell. — 1080 *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) supplies hie = eos before ðær. — 1081 *Ettm.* elreordigra. *W.* ænig ne to lafe; *Siev.* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) æn(i)ge to lafe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton. — 1082 *MS.* cwicne gemette, not as *W.* states cwic ne gemette; *Th.* as *MS.*; *Th.* note, *K.* cwicne ne metton; *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* cwicne ne gemetton; *Gn.* cwic ne gemetton; *Pogatscher* (*Anglia* xxiii, 298) cwicne ne gemette; *W.* cwic ne gemette. — 1083 *K.* ac. *Gn.* omits þær; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> restores the word. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -dreorge. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* lægon. — 1087 *Th.*, *Gm.* hyge geomor. — 1088 *K.* beodgæstes. — 1089 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* behlidenan; *Gm.* note, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) belidenan. — 1090 *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* supply deade before gefeormedon; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) characterizes the line thus emended as metrically imperfect; *Holthausen* (*Anglia* xiii, 357) deade dryht gefeormedon. See Notes. — 1093 *Gm.* to somne. — 1095 *K.* wiggum. *Ettm.* gangan.

on mēarum mōdige,    mæðelhēgende,  
 æscum dealle.    þā wæs eall geador  
 tō þām þingstede    þēod gesamnod ;  
 lēton him þā betwēonum    | taan wīsian,    [f. 44<sup>a</sup>]  
 hwylcne hira ærest    oðrum sceolde    1100  
 tō fōddurpege    fēores ongyldan ;  
 hluton hellcræftum,    hæðengildum  
 teledon betwīnum.    Ðā se tān gehwearf  
 efne ofer ænne    ealdgesīða,  
 sē wæs uðweota    eorla dūgoðe,    1105  
 heriges on ōre.    Hraðe siððan wearð  
 fetorwrāsum fæst,    fēores orwēna.  
 Cleopode þā collenferhð    cearegan reorde,  
 cwæð hē his sylfes sunu    syllan wolde  
 on æhtgeweald,    eaforan geongne,    1110  
 līfes tō lisse ;    hīe ðā lāc hraðe  
 þēgon tō þance.    þēod wæs oflysted,  
 metes mōdgēomre,    , næs him tō māðme wynn,  
 hyht tō hordgestrēonum ;    hungre wæron  
 pearle geþrēatod,    swā se ðēodsceaða    1115  
 rēow rīcsode.    þā wæs rinc manig,  
 gūðfrec guma,    ymb þæs geongan feorh  
 brēostum onbryrded.    Tō þām beadulāce  
 wæs þæt wēatācen    wīde gefrēge,  
 geond þā burh bodad    beorne manegum,    1120  
 þæt hīe þæs cnihtes cwealm    corðre gesōhton,  
 dūguðe ond eogoðe,    dæl onfēngon  
 līfes tō leofne.    Hīe lungre tō þæs,  
 hæðene herigweardas,    here samnodan

1096 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* mæðel hegende. — 1099 *Gn.* omits þa. *MS.* tá an, *the*  
*first word on f. 44<sup>a</sup>* ; *Edd.* tan, *except W.* taan. — 1109 *K.* suna. — 1110 *MS.*  
 geone. — 1116 *MS.*, *Edd.* hreow, *except Gn.*, *Siev.* (*PBB.* ix, 257) reow. *Gm.*  
 ring. — 1119 *Ettm.* gefræge. — 1123 *Gn.* hi. — 1124 *K.* heargweardas.

ceastrewarena; cyrm upp āstāh.

1125

Ðā se geonga ongann gēomran stefne,  
 gehæfted for herige, hearmlēoð galan,  
 frēonda fēasceaft, friðes wilnian;  
 ne mihte earmsceapen āre findan,  
 freoðe æt þām folce, þe him fēores wolde,  
 ealdres geunnan; hæfdon æglæcan  
 sæcce gesōhte; sceolde sweordes | ecg,  
 scerp ond scūrheard, of sceaðan folme,  
 fȳrmælum fāg, feorh ācsigan.

1130

[f. 44<sup>b</sup>]

Ðā þæt Andrēa earmlic þūhte,

1135

þeodbealo þearlic tō geðolianne,  
 þæt hē swā unscyldig ealdre sceolde  
 lungre linnan. Wæs se lēodhete

[þrīst ond] þrothheard; þrymman scēocan,

mōdige maguþegnas, morðres on luste;

1140

woldon æninga, ellenrōfe,

on þām hysebeorðre heafolan gescēnan,

gārum āgētan. Hine God forstōd,

hālig of hēhðo, hāðenum folce;

hēt wāpen wera wexe gelicost

1145

on þām orlege eall formeltan;

þȳ læs scyldhatan sceððan mihton,

egle ondsacan, ecga þrȳðum.

Swā wearð ālȳsed of lēodhete,

geong of gyrne, Gode ealles þanc,

1150

1125 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gn.*, *B.* ceastre warena; *K.* ceasterwarena. — 1127 *K.* gehafted. — 1129 *Th.* miht. — 1130 *Gn.* note freode? *Ettm.* note nolde? — 1133 *Gn.* scearp. *Gn.* *Nachtr.* fæðme for folme? — 1134 *Gn.* fah. — 1139 *MS.* þrothheard þrymman with no indication of omission; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate the omission of one or more words after þrothheard; *Ettm.*, *Gn.* and þrealic after þrothheard; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 15) þearl and before þrothheard. *W.* calls attention to 1264<sup>a</sup>. *Ettm.* þrymmum. — 1142 *Gn.* note hyse corðre? — 1143 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageotan. — 1147 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 15) supplies him before scyldhatan. *MS.* *Edd.* sceaðan; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 15) sceððan.



dryhtna Dryhtne, þæs ðe hē dōm gifeð  
 gumena gehwylcum, þāra þe gēoce tō him  
 sēceð mid snytrum; þær bið symle gearu  
 frēod unhwilen, þām þe hīe findan cann.

## [XI]

þā wæs wōp hæfen in wera burgum, 1155  
 hlūd heriges cyrm; hrēopon friccan,  
 mændon metelēaste, mēðe stōdon,  
 hungre gehæfte. Hornsalu wunedon,  
 wēste winræced, welan ne benohton  
 beornas tō brūcanne on þā bitran tīd; 1160  
 gesæton searupancle sundor tō rūne  
 ermðu eahtigan; næs him tō ēðle wynn.

Fregn þā gelōme freca oðerne:  
 “Ne hele sē ðe hæbbe holde lāre,  
 on sefan snyttro! Nū is sǣl cumen, 1165  
 þrēa ormæte; is nū þearf mycel,  
 þæt wē wīsfæstra wordum hýran.”

|þā for þære dugoðe dēoful ætýwde, [f. 45<sup>a</sup>]  
 wann ond witelēas, hæfde wēriges hīw.  
 Ongan þā meldigan morþres brytta, 1170  
 hellehinca, þone hālgan wer  
 wiðerhygende, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 “Hēr is gefēred ofer feornæ weg  
 æðelinga sum innan ceastre,  
 ellþeodigra, þone ic Andrēas 1175

1151 *Gm.* gīfed. — 1154 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *B.* freond; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *W.* freod. *B.*<sup>2</sup> hine for hie. *K.* eann. — 1156 *Gm.*, *Ettm.* hreopun. — 1159 *Gm.* (cf. also his *Introd.* p. xxxvii), *Ettm.*, *Gn.* winræced; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *K.*, *B.* winræced. — 1160 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 482) brucan. — 1163 *Ettm.* frægn. — 1165 *Th.* synttro. — 1169 *Ettm.* witeleas. *Edd.* wēriges; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> weriges? — 1171 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* helle hinca; *Gm. note*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *W.* hellehinca. — 1173 *Gm.* ist. *Gm.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> gefered. — 1175 *Ettm.* elþeodigra.

Ðā gýt se wiðermēda      wordum lārde      1195  
 folc tō gefeohte,      fēondes cræfte :  
 “ Nū gē gehýrað      hæleða gewinnan,  
 sē ðyssum herige mæst      hearma gefremede.  
 Ðæt is Andrēas,      sē mē on flīteð  
 wordum wrætlicum      for wera menigo.”      1200

1177 *Gm.*, *K.* āferede. — 1178 *Gn.* mancynnes. — 1180 *MS.* gwyrhtum; *Edd.* gewyrhtum; *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 551), *Simons*, s. v. gewyrhtan. *MS.* lætað spor; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before spor but do not attempt to supply it; *Ettm.* wigspere for spor; *Gn.* wæpna spor; *B.* nu spor; *W.* wæpnes spor. — 1181 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* eadorgeard; *Ettm.* eodorgeard; *K.*, *Nap.* (*Anglia* iv, 411) independently ealdorgeard. — 1182 *Gm.* feohhord. — 1184 *Ettm.* ageaf. — 1186 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* bealdest. *K.* wast. — 1190 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) ælmihtga. — 1191 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) supply on before heolstor; *Gn.* *Spr.* i, 93 as *MS.* — 1192 *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* se for þe; *Ettm.* þær þe se; *B.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* — 1193 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* Sata. *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *B.* nemndon; *B.*<sup>2</sup> nemdon. — 1194 *K.* æ. — 1198 *Ettm.* þisum. — 1199 *Edd.* onfliteð, except *Gn.*, *W.* on fliteð.

Ðā wæs beacen boden    burhsittendum ;  
 āhlēopon hildfrome    heriges brehtme  
 ond tō weallgeatum    wigend þrungon,  
 cēne under cumblum,    | corðre mycle    [f. 45<sup>b</sup>]  
 tō ðām orlege,    ordum ond bordum.    1205

þā worde cwæð    weoroda Dryhten,  
 Meotud mihtum swið    sægde his magoþegne :  
 “Scealt ðū, Andrēas,    ellen fremman ;  
 ne mið ðū for menigo,    ah þinne mōdsefan  
 staðola wið strangum.    Nis sēo stund latu,    1210  
 þæt þē wælrēowe    wītum belecgaþ,  
 cealdan clommum.    Cýð þē sylfne,  
 herd hige þinne,    heortan staðola,  
 þæt hīe mīn on ðē    mægen oncnāwan.  
 Ne magon hīe ond ne mōton    ofer mīne ēst    1215  
 þinne lichoman,    lehtum scyldige,  
 deaðe gedælan,    ðeah ðū drype þolige,  
 mirce mānslaga.    Ic þē mid wunige.”

Æfter þām wordum cōm    werod unmæte,  
 lyswe lārsmeoðas,    mid lindgecrode,    1220  
 bolgenmōde ;    bæron ūt hræðe  
 ond þām hālgan þær    handa gebundon,  
 sippan geyped wæs    æðelinga wynn  
 ond hīe andweardne    ēagum meahton  
 gesion sigerōfne.    þær wæs sec manig    1225  
 on þām welwange    wiges oflysted  
 lēoda duguðe ;    lýt sorgodon,  
 hwylc him þæt edlēan    æfter wurde.

1206 *Th.* cwæð. — 1212 *Ettm.* cealdum. — 1216 *Ettm.* lichaman. *Gm. note, citing*  
*1205<sup>a</sup>, leahtrum. Siev. (PBB. x, 459) scyldge.* — 1218 *B.* myrce. *MS. mānslaga ;*  
*Gm., Ettm., K. manslaga ; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 16) mānslægas.* — 1219 *Ettm.* After. —  
 1221 *Ettm.* hræðe ; *so also 1272<sup>a</sup>, 1577<sup>b</sup>.* — 1223 *K.* Siððon. *Ettm.* geyppeð. — 1224  
*Gn., Spr. i, 6 hi hine andweardne.* — 1225 *Gn., Ettm.* secg. — 1226 *Gm., Gn., K,*  
*Ettm., B., W. wælwange.*

Hēton þā lādan ofer landsceare,  
 þrāgmælum tēon, torngenīðlan, 1230  
 swā hīe hit frēcnost findan meahton.  
 Drōgon dēormōdne æfter dūnscreafum,  
 ymb stānhleoðo stærcedferhþne,  
 efne swā wīde swā wegas tō lāgon,  
 enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum, 1235  
 stræte stānfāge. Storm upp āras  
 æfter ceasterhofum, cirm unlytel  
 hāðnes heriges. Wæs þæs hālgan līc  
 sārbennum soden, swāte bestēmed,  
 bānhūs ābrocen; blōd yðum wēoll, 1240  
 hātan |heolfre. Hæfde him on innan [f. 46<sup>a</sup>]  
 ellen untwēonde; wæs þæt æðele mōd  
 āsundrad fram synnum, þeah hē sāres swā feala  
 dēopum dolgslegum drēogan sceolde.  
 Swā wæs ealne dæg, oððæt æfen cōm, 1245  
 sigetorht swungen; sār eft gewōd  
 ymb þæs beornes brēost, oððæt beorht gewāt  
 sunne swegeltorht tō sete glīdan.  
 Lāddan þā lēode lāðne gewinnan  
 tō carcerne; hē wæs Crīste swā þeah 1250  
 lēof on mōde; him wæs lēoht sefa  
 hālig heortan nēh, hige untyddre.

1229 *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) supplies *hine before þa.* — 1230 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* *ii*, 550 *trasmælum*; *K.* *þrægmælum*. — 1232 *MS.*, *Edd.* *deormode*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) *deormodne*. — 1232 *Ettm.* *dunscrafum*. — 1233 *MS.* *stærcedferþþe*; *Th.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* *stærcedferhþe*; *Gm.*, *Ettm.* *stearcedferhðe*; *K.* *stearcedferðe*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) *stærcedferhþne*. — 1234 *Th.*, *B.* *tolagon*; *K.* *tolægon*. — 1236 *Ettm.* *up*. — 1241 *MS.*, *Edd.* *hat of heolfre*, except *Gn.* *hatan heolfre*; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) *hat of hreþre*. *Th.* *on-innan*. — 1242 *MS.*, *Edd.* *untweodne*, except *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) *untweonde*; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* — 1243 *Ettm.* *feola*. — 1246 *MS.*, *Edd.* *sigeltorht*, except *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 16) *sigetorht*. *Gn.* oft. — 1252 *Bright* (*MLN.* *ii*, 82) would omit *neh*. *Gn.* *untydre*; *Gm.* note *untedre*.

## [XII]

þā se hālga wæs under heolstorscuwan,  
 eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht  
 searopancum beseted. Snāw eorðan band 1255  
 wintergeworpum; weder cōledon  
 heardum hægelscūrum; swylce hrīm ond forst,  
 hāre hildstapan, hæleða ēðel  
 lucon, lēoda gesetu. Land wæron frēorig  
 cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym 1260  
 ofer ēastrēamas, is brycgade  
 blæce brimrāde. Blīðheort wunode  
 eorl unforcūð, elnes gemyndig,  
 þrist ond þrohtheard, in þreanēdum,  
 wintercealdan niht; nō on gewitte blon, 1265  
 ācol for þy egesan, þæs þe hē ær ongann,  
 þæt hē ā dōmlīcost Dryhten herede,  
 weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim  
 heofontorht onhlād. Ðā cōm hæleða þreat  
 tō ðære dimman ding, duguð unlytel, 1270  
 wadan wælgīfre weorodes brehtme.  
 Hēton ūt hræðe æðeling lædan  
 in wrāðra geweald, wærfæstne hæleð.  
 Ðā wæs eft |swā ær ondlangne dæg [f. 46<sup>b</sup>]  
 swungen sarslegum; swāt yðum wēoll 1275  
 þurh bāncofan, blōdlifrum swealg,  
 hātan heolfre; hrā weorces ne sann,  
 wundum wērig. þā cwōm wōpes hring

1253 *MS.* A; the scribe wrote originally SA, then erased the S, but did not fill in þ. — 1257 *Gn.* swylc; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> swylce. — 1258 *Gm.* (*p.* xxxv) hildstapan, viatores tegminibus involuti, or hæðstapan? *Gn.* note hlið-, hæð-? — 1262 *K.* blace. — 1266 *MS.*, *Th.* acól; *Gm.*, *K.* ācōl, but *Gm.* as verb, *K.* as adj.; *Ettm.*, *Gn.* acol; *B.* ācol. — 1269 *Ettm.* heofon torht, heofon accus. — 1270 *Ettm.* note dynige for ding?

þurh þæs beornes brēost,      blāt ūt faran,  
wēoll waðuman strēam,      ond hē worde cwæð:      1280

“Gesēoh nū, Dryhten God,      drohtað minne,  
weoruda willgeofa!      þū wæst ond const  
ānra gēhwylces      earfeðsiðas.

Ic gelyfe tō ðē,      mīn liffruma,  
þæt ðū mildheort mē      for þīnum mægenspēdum,      1285  
nerigend fīra,      nāfre wille,

ēce ælmihtig,      ānforlætan;  
swā ic þæt gefremme,      þenden feorh leofað,  
mīn on moldan,      þæt ic, meotud, þīnum  
lārum lēofwendum      lýt geswīce.      1290

þū eart gescyldend      wið sceaðan wæpnum,  
ēce ēadfruma,      eallum þīnum;  
ne læt nū bysmrian      banan manncynnes,  
fācnes frumbearn,      þurh fēondes cræft  
leahtrum belecgan      þā þīn lof berað.”      1295

Ðā ðær ætywde      se atola gāst,  
wrāð wærloga;      wīgend lārde  
for þām heremægene      helle dīoful  
āwerged in wītum,      ond þæt word gecwæð:  
“Slēað synnigne      ofer seolfes mūð,      1300  
folces gewinnan,      nū tō feala reordap.”

þā wæs orlege      eft onhrēred,  
nīwan stefne,      nīð upp ārās,  
opðæt sunne gewāt      tō sete glīdan  
under nīflan næs;      niht helmade,      1305  
brūnwann oferbræd      beorgas stēape,

1279 *Th.*, *B.* utfaran. — 1282 *K.*, *Ettm.* wast. — 1286 *MS.* welle; *Nap.* w corrected from n. — 1291 *MS.*, *B.* gescylded. — 1293 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* man-. — 1298 *Ettm.* deoful. — 1299 *Ettm.* on for in. — 1300 *Ettm.* silfes. — 1301 *Ettm.* feola. *Gn.* reorðað; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> reordað. — 1302 *MS.* þa; *W.* Ða. — 1303 *Ettm.* up. — 1306 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* brun wann. *Ettm.* oferbrægd.

ond se hālga wæs      tō hofe lāded,  
 dēor ond dōmgeorn,      in þæt dimme ræced ;  
 sceal þonne in nēadcofan      nihtlangne fyrst  
 wærfæst wunian      wic unsýfre. 1310  
 þā cōm seofona sum      tō sele geongan,  
 atol æglæca      |yfela gemyndig, [f. 47<sup>a</sup>]  
 morðres mǣnfrēa      myrce gescýrded,  
 dēoful dēaðrēow      duguðum berēafod  
     Ongan þā þām hālgan      hospword spreca : 1315  
 “ Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas,      hidercyme þinne  
 on wrāðra geweald?      Hwær is wuldor þin,  
 þe ðū oferhigdum      upp ārærddest,  
 þā ðū goda ūssa      gild gehnægdest?  
 Hafast nū þē ānum      eall getihhad 1320  
 land ond lēode,      swā dyde lārēow þin  
 (cyneþrym āhōf),      þām wæs Crīst nama  
 ofer middangeard,      þynden hit meahte swā ;  
 þone Hērōdes      ealdre besnyðede,  
 forcōm æt campe      cyning Iūdēa, 1325  
 rīces berædde,      ond hine rōde befealg,  
 þæt hē on gealgan      his gāst onsende.  
 Swā ic nū bebēode      bearnum mīnum,  
 þegnum þryðfullum,      ðæt hīe ðē hnægen,  
 gingran æt gūðe.      Lætað gāres ord, 1330

1308 *MS.* plainly deor; so *Th.*, *Nap.*, and *Edd.* except *W.*, *B.*, as *MS.* and in  
*text*, deop. — 1309 *Gn.* sceolde. — 1311 *Ettm.* gangan. — 1313 *Gn.*, *Spr.* i, 449  
 gescryded, *vestitus?* or gescyrtded? *Trautmann* (in *Simons* s. v.) gescyrtded =  
 gescynded = gescended *confusus?* — 1315 *Gm.*, *A.* ongan to þam, *Ettm.* ongann  
 to þam. — 1316 *Siev.* (*PBB.* xii, 478) omits Andreas. — 1317 *MS.*, *Edd.* hwæt, *Gn.*  
*note* hwær? *W.* incorrectly refers *Gn.*'s note to hwæt, 1316<sup>a</sup>. — 1318 *Ettm.* up. —  
 1319 *MS.*, *Edd.* gilp; *Gn.* note gild? *Bugge* (*PBB.* xii, 95), *Blount* gild. — 1320  
*Gn.* *Nachtr.* Hafast þu, not repeated in *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>. — 1323 *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* þenden.  
 — 1324 *Gn.* Erodes. — 1329 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *A.* hnægon; *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hnægan.

earh āttre gemæġ, in gedūfan  
 in fæges ferð; gāð fromlice,  
 ðæt gē gūðfrecaŋ gylp forbēgan."

Hie wæron rēowe, ræsdon on sōna  
 gīfrum grāpum; hine God forstōd, 1335  
 staðulfæst stēorend, þurh his strangan miht.

Syððan hie oncnēowon Cristes rōde  
 on his mægwlite, mære tacen,  
 wurdon hie ðā ācle on þām onfenge,  
 forhte, āfærde, ond on flēam numen. 1340

Ongan eft swā ær ealdgeniðla,  
 helle hæftling, hearmlēoð galan:  
 "Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum, rincas mīne,  
 lindgesteallan, þæt ēow swā lýt gespēow?"

[Him þā] earmsceapen āgef ondsware, 1345  
 fāh fyrsceaþa, ond his fæder oncwæð:

"Ne |magan wē him lungre lāð ætfæstan, [f. 47<sup>b</sup>]  
 swilt þurh searwe; gā þē sylfa tō!

þær þū gegninga gūðe findest,  
 frēcne feohtan, gif ðū furður dearest 1350  
 tō þām ānhagan aldre genēðan.

1331 *K.* ættre. *Edd.*, except *Gn.*, *W.* ingedufan. — 1333 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* guðfrean; *Gn.* note guðfrecaŋ? — 1337 *MS.* rade; *Edd.* rode. — 1337 ff. *Gm.* without remark, *K.*, *Ettm.*:

Cristes rode  
 mære tacen, wurdon hie þa acle  
 on þam onfenge, forhte, and on fleam numen.

*Gn.* mære tacen, on his mægwlite, etc.; *B.* as *Gm.*, except that he supplies afærde after forhte; *B.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* — 1341 *Ettm.* ongann. *Gn.* supplies þa after ongan. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eald geniðla; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> ealdgeniðla. — 1345 *MS.*, *B.* hearmsceapen; *Edd.* earmsceapen; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 17) him þa earmsceapen. *Ettm.* him ageaf.



## [XIII]

“ Wē ðē magon ēaðe,      eorla lēofost,  
 æt þām secgplegan      sēlre gelæran,  
 ær ðū gegninga      gūðe fremme,  
 wiges wōman,      weald hū ðē sæle 1355  
 æt þām gegnslege.      Utan gangan eft,  
 þæt wē bysmrigen      bendum fæstne,  
 oðwitan him his wræcsið;      habbað word gearu  
 wið þām æglæcan      eall getrahtod! ”  
 þā hlēoðrade      hlūdan stefne, 1360  
 wītum bewæled,      ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 “ þū þē, Andrēas,      āclæccræftum  
 lange feredes.      Hwæt! ðū lēoda feala  
 forleolce ond forlærdest.      Nū leng ne miht  
 gewealdan þy weorce;      þē synd wītu þæs grim 1365  
 weotud be gewyrhtum.      þū scealt wērigmōd,  
 hēan, hrōðra lēas,      hearm prōwigan,  
 sære swyltcwale.      Secgas mīne  
 tō þām gūðplegan      gearwe sindon,  
 þā þē æninga      ellenweorcum 1370  
 unfyrn faca      feorh ætþringan.  
 Hwylc is þæs mihtig      ofer middangeard,  
 þæt hē þē ālyse      of leoðubendum,  
 manna cynnes,      ofer mīne ēst? ”

1352 *Ettm.* we þe ne? — 1353 *Ettm.* secplegan. — 1354 *K.* geninga. — 1355 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* þu for hu. — 1356 *MS.*, *W.* Utan; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* uton; *K.* Uton; *Gn.*, *B.* Utan. — 1361 *Ettm.* ‘bewealod, bewealwod? aut bewæled (*Gm.* bewæled).’ — 1362 *MS.*, *Th.* aclæc cræftum; *Edd.* aclæccræftum, except *Gn.*, *W.* aglæccræftum. — 1363 *Ettm.* feola. — 1364 *W.* ‘after leng, which ends a line in the *MS.*, a line is left vacant, for no apparent reason.’ It should be noted, however, that on other folios, e.g. f. 46<sup>a</sup>, f. 46<sup>b</sup>, f. 47<sup>a</sup>, the same peculiarity occurs, always between the tenth and eleventh lines of the page, counting from the bottom. This wide spacing is evidently due to some irregularity in the measure by which the scribe ruled off his pages, and no omission in the text is to be supposed.

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware : 1375  
 “Hwæt ! mē ēaðe ælmihtig God,  
 niðā neregend, sē ðē in nīedum iu  
 gefæstnode fýrnum clommum,  
 þær ðū syððan ā, sūsle |gebunden, [f. 48<sup>a</sup>]  
 in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne, 1380  
 syððan ðū forhogedes heofoncyniges word.  
 þær wæs yfles ōr, ende næfre  
 þīnes wræces weorðeð. Ðū scealt wīdan feorh  
 ēcan þīne yrmðu ; þē bið ā symble  
 of dæge on dæg drohtan strengra.” 1385  
 Ðā wearð on flēame, sē ðe ðā fæhðo iu  
 wið God gēara grimme gefremede.  
 Cōm þā on uhtan mid ærdæge  
 hāðenra hlōð hāliges nēosan  
 lēoda weorude ; hēton lādan ūt 1390  
 þrohtheardne þegn þridðan sīðe ;  
 woldon āninga ellenrōfes  
 mōd gemyltan ; hit ne mihte swā.  
 Ðā wæs nīowinga nīð onhrēred,  
 heard ond hetegrim. Wæs se hālga wer 1395  
 sære geswungen, searwum gebunden,  
 dolgbennum þurhdrifen, ðendon dæg lihte.  
 Ongan þā gēomormōd tō Gode cleopian,  
 heard of hæfte, hālgan stefne

1375 *Ettm.* ageaf. — 1376 *After* eaðe *Gn.* supplies gescildeð (*not* gescyldeð as *W.* states) ; *Ettm.* note Hwæt me eaðe] *scil.* mæg alysan ; *Root* (p. 58) mæg *after* eaðe, and generian for neregend 1377<sup>a</sup>. — 1377 *MS.*, *B.* in medum ; *Edd.*, except *B.*, in niedum ; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) nedum. — 1380 *Ettm.* wræce? *Gn.* wræce? — 1381 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* forhogodes ; *B.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* heofen-. — 1383 *K.* wiðan. — 1386 *K.* fæðo ; *Ettm.* fæhðe. — 1387 *Gn.* wid. — 1394 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* neowinga. — 1395 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hete grim, with the *hemistich* after hete ; *K.* on for ond ; *Gn.* Nachtr., *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) hetegrim, in the first half-line. — 1396 *Simons* (p. 120) snearum? — 1397 *K.*, *Ettm.* þenden. — 1398 *Ettm.* ongann.

wēop wērigferð,      ond þæt word gecwæð :      1400  
 “ Næfre ic gefērde      mid Frēan willan  
 under heofonhwealfe      heardran drohtnoð,  
 þær ic Dryhtnes æ      dēman sceolde.  
 Sint mē leoðu tōlocen,      lic sære gebrocen,  
 bānhūs blōdfāg,      benne weallað,      1405  
 seonodolg swātige.      Hwæt ! ðū sigora weard,  
 Dryhten Hælend,      on dæges tide  
 mid Iūdēum      gēomor wurde,  
 ðā ðū of gealgan,      God lifigende,  
 fyrnweorca Frēa,      tō fæder cleopodest,      1410  
 cininga wuldor,      ond cwæde ðus :  
 ‘ Ic ðē, fæder engla,      frignan wille,  
 līfes lēohtfruma,      hwæt forlætest ðū mē ? ’  
 Ond ic nū prȳ dagas      polian sceolde  
 wælgrim wītu.      Bidde ic, weoroda God,      1415  
 þæt ic |gāst mīnne      āgīfan mōte,      [f. 48<sup>b</sup>]  
 sāwla symbelgīfa,      on þīnes sylfes hand.  
 Ðū ðæt gehēte      þurh þīn hālig word,  
 þā ðū ūs twelfe      trymman ongunne,  
 þæt ūs heterōfra      hild ne gescēode,      1420  
 nē lices dæl      lungre oððēoded,  
 nē synu nē bān      on swaðe lāgon,  
 nē loc of hēafde      tō forlore wurde,  
 gif wē þīne lāre      lāestan woldon.  
 Nū sint sionwe tōslopen,      is mīn swāt ādr̥c pen,      1425

1400 MS. -ferð inserted above the line. — 1404 MS., *Edd* 120ð, *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 551) leoðu. — 1405 *K.*, *B.* benna. — 1406 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* seono dolgswatige. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) swatge. — 1414 *Ettm.* þri. — 1420 *Th.* gescænde after heterofra? *Th.* gesceolde. — 1421 *Gm.* note oðeode = *evaderet*, *periret*; *Ettm.* text oðþeodde. — 1425 MS. toslopen and aðropen; *Nap.* adropen, the d altered from ð; but the crossing is plainly visible in the reproduction; *W. Nachtr.* (p. 565) as MS.; *Edd.* toslowen and aðrowen; *Gm.* note suggests toslopen and aðropen, and *Nachtr.* (p. 172) adropen for aðropen; *Ettm.* adds ‘fortasse legendum est toslawen, aðrawen’; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) toslopen, adropen.

licgað æfter lande    loccas tōdrifene,  
fex on foldan.    Is mē feorhgedāl  
lēofre mycle    þonne þeos lifcearo.”

Him þā stefn oncwæð,    stiðhycgendum,  
wuldorcyniges    word hlōðrode : 1430

“Ne wēp þone wræcsið,    wine lēofesta ;  
nis þē tō frēcne.    Ic þē friðe healde,  
mīnre mundbyrde    mægene besette.  
Mē is miht ofer eall,    [geond middangeard]  
sigorspēd geseald.    Sōð þæt gecyðeð 1435

mænig æt meðle    on þām myclan dæge,  
þæt ðæt geweorðeð,    þæt ðeos wlitige gesceaft,  
heofon ond eorðe,    hrēosaþ tōgadore,  
ær āwæged sīe    worda ænig,  
þe ic þurh mīnne mūð    meðlan onginne. 1440

Gesēoh nū seolfes swæðe,    swā þīn swāt āgēt  
þurh bāngbrec    blōdige stīge,  
lices lælan.    Nō þē lāðes mā  
þurh daroða gedrep    gedōn mōtan,  
þā þe heardra mæst    hearma gefremedan.” 1445

þā on lāst beseah    lēoflic cempa  
æfter wordcwidum    wuldorcyniges ;  
geseh hē geblōwene    bearwas standan  
blædum gehrodene,    swā hē ær his blōd āgēt.

Ðā worde cwæð    wigendra hlēo : 1450

“Sīe ðē ðanc ond lof,    þeoða waldend,

1430 *K.* wuldor cyniges. *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* hleoðrode. — 1434 *MS.* ofer eall sigor- with no indication of omission ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate the omission of a half-line ; *Ettm.* supplies so as to read ofer eallne middangeard ; *Gn.* geond middangeard ; *B.*, *W.* indicate no omission. — 1435 *Gm.* gecyðed. — 1436 *Ettm.* manig. — 1438 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* to gadore. — 1441 *Ettm.* swaðe. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat. — 1443 *MS.* lic lælan ; *Edd.* liclælan ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 162 lic lælan, lælan *inf.* = *livere* ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82, with alternative læla) lices lælan, lælan *acc. sg.* ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) læla, *gen. pl.* — 1446 *Ettm.* geseah. — 1447 *K.* wuldor cyniges. — 1448 *Ettm.* geseah. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) geblowne. — 1449 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat.

tō wīdan fēore      wuldor on heofonum,  
 ðæs ðū | mē on sāre,      sigedryhten mīn,      [f.  
 ellpēodigne,      ān ne forlæte.”

Swā se dǣdfruma      Dryhten herede      I  
 hālgan stefne,      oððæt hādor sægl  
 wuldortorht gewāt      under waðu scriðan.

þā þā folctogan      fēorðan siðe,  
 egle ondsacan,      æðeling lǣddon  
 tō þām carcerne ;      woldon cræfta gehygd,      I  
 magorǣdendes      mōd oncyrran  
 on þære deorcan niht.      þā cōm Dryhten God  
 in þæt hlinræced,      hæleða wuldor,  
 ond þā wine sýnne      wordum grētte  
 ond frōfre gecwæð,      fæder manncynnes,      I  
 līfes lārēow ;      heht his lichoman  
 hāles brūcan :      “ Ne scealt ðū in hēnðum ā leng  
 searohæbbendra      sār prōwian.”

Arās þā mægene rōf,      sægde Meotude þanc,  
 hāl of hæfte      heardra wīta ;      I  
 næs him gewemmed wīte,      nē wlōh of hrægle  
 lungre ālýsed,      nē loc of hēafde,  
 nē bān gebrocen,      nē blōdig wund  
 lāðe gelenge,      nē lices dæl  
 purh dolgslege      drēore bestēmed ;      I  
 ac wæs eft swā ær      purh þā æðelan miht  
 lof lǣdende,      ond on his līce trum.

1454 *Ettm.* elpēodigne. *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* forlete. — 1457 *K.* omits w: *Gn.* (note, waðum?) and *Spr.* ii, 642 wadu. — 1458 *Ettm.* feordan, not feord *W.* states. — 1460 *Blount* cræftgan for cræfta. — 1462 *K.* omits god. — 1464 *E* except *Th.*, *W.* sinne. — 1467 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* hendum. — 1468 *MS.* sas; *Edd.* — 1472 *MS.*, *Th.* alysde. — 1474 *MS.* lic ge lenge ne laðes dæl; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *E* lic gelenge etc.; *K.*, *B.* licgelenge; *Gn.*, *W.* lice lenge; *Gm.* note, *Gn.* (*Spr.* i, 4 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) lice gelenge.

## XIV

Hwæt! ic hwile nū hāliges lāre,  
 lēoðgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,  
 wordum wēmdē, wyrd undyrne, 1480  
 ✓ ofer mīn gemet. Mycel is tō secganne,  
 langsum leornung, þæt hē in līfe ādrēag,  
 eall æfter orde. þæt scell æglæwra  
 mann on moldan þonne ic mē tælige  
 findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne 1485  
 eall þā earfeðo, þe hē mid elne ādrēah,  
 grimra gūða. Hwæðre |gīt sceolon [f. 49<sup>b</sup>]  
 lýtlum sticcum lēoðworda dæl  
 furður reccan. þæt is fyrnsægen,  
 hū hē weorna feala wīta geðolode, 1490  
 heardra hilda, in þære hāðenan byrig.  
 Hē be wealle geseah wundrum fæste  
 under sælwāge swēras unlýtle,  
 stapulas standan, storme bedrifene,  
 eald enta geweorc. Hē wið ānne þæra, 1495  
 mihtig ond mōdrōf, mæðel gehēde,  
 wīs, wundrum glēaw, word stunde āhōf:  
 “Gehēr ðū, marmanstān, Meotudes rædum,  
 fore þæs onsýne ealle gesceafte  
 forhte geweorðað, þonne hīe fæder gesēoð 1500  
 heofonas ond eorðan herigea mæste  
 on middangeard mancynn sēcan!

1478 *MS.* HÆT; *Th.* þæt, note hwæt? — 1481 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 482) secgan. —  
 1483 *Ettm.* sceall. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ægleawra. — 1487 *K.* sceal on, ending the line  
 with sceal. — 1489 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *B.* fyrnsægen; other *Edd.* fyrn sægen. — 1490 *Ettm.*  
 feola. *MS.* geðolēde. — 1492 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* fæstne. — 1493 *MS.*, *Edd.* sælwange,  
 except *Gn.* sælwage; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18), *Root* (p. 58) as *Gn.* *MS.* sweras, not as  
*Th.*, *W.* state, speras; *W. Nachtr.* (p. 565) sweras; *Th.*, *B.* text speras. — 1495 *K.*  
 ænne. — 1496 *MS.*, *Th.* modrofe. *Ettm.* meðel. — 1497 *Ettm.* wordum for wun-  
 drum. — 1501 *Ettm.* heofones?

Læ̃t nū of þīnum stapole      strēamas weallan,  
 ēa inflēde,      nū ðē ælmihtig  
 hāteð, heofona cyning,      þæt ðū hrædlice      1505  
 on þis fræte folc      forð onsende  
 wæter wīdrynig      tō wera cwealme,  
 geofon gēotende.      Hwæt ! ðū golde eart,  
 sincgife, sýlla ;      on ðē sylf cyning  
 wrāt, wuldres God,      wordum cýðde      1510  
 recene gerýno,      ond ryhte æ  
 getācnode      on tȳn wordum,  
 Meotud mihtum swīð ;      Moyse sealde,  
 swā hit sōðfæste      syðþan hēoldon,  
 mōdige magoþegnas,      māgas sīne,      1515  
 godfyrhte guman,      Iosua ond Tobias.  
 Nū ðū miht gecnāwan,      þæt þē cyning engla  
 gefrætweode      furður mycle  
 giofum gēardagum      þonne eall gimma cynn.  
 þurh his hālige hæs      þū scealt hræðe cýðan,      1520  
 gif ðū his ondgitan      ænige hæbbe.”  
     Næs þā wordlatu      wihte þon māre,  
 þæt se stān tōgān ;      strēam ūt |āwēoll,      [f. 50<sup>a</sup>]  
 flēow ofer foldan ;      fāmige walcan  
 mid ærdæge      eorðan þehton,      1525  
 myclade mereflōd.      Meoduscerwen wearð  
 æfter symbeldæge ;      slæpe tōbrugdon  
 searuhæbbende.      Sund grunde onfēng,  
 dēope gedrēfed ;      duguð wearð āfyrhted

1504 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* in flede ; *Ettm.* on flede. — 1505 *Ettm.* hræðlice. — 1507 *Th.*,  
*Gm.* wīd ryncg ; *K.* wīdrincg ; *Gm. note* wīdryne or wīdrynig. — 1508 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*,  
*W.* heofon. — 1516 *MS.*, *Th.* iosau. — 1518 *Ettm.* furðor. — 1520 *Ettm.* hraðe. —  
 1522 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* word latu. — 1526 *MS.* meodu scerwen ; so *Nap.*, *W. Nachtr.*  
 (p. 565) ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* meodu scerpen ; *Gm. note*, *Gn.* meodu scerwen ;  
*Gn. note*, *W.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 19) meoduscerwen. — 1527–8 *MS.* tobrōgdon ;  
*searu* hæbbende, not hæbbende as *W.* states ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* searu hæbbende.

þurh þæs flōdes fæ̃r ; fæ̃ge swulton, 1530

geonge on geofene gūðræs fornam

þurh sealtne wēg. þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,

biter bēorþegu ; byrlas ne gældon,

ombehtþegnas ; þær wæs ælcum genōg

fram dæges orde drync sōna gearu. 1535

Wēox wæteres þrym ; weras cwānedon,

ealde æsberend ; wæs him ūt myne

flēon fealone strēam, woldon fēore beorgan,

tō dūnscreafum drohtað sēcan,

eorðan ond wist. Him þæt engel forstōð, 1540

sē ðā burh oferbrægd blācan lige,

✓ hātan heaðowælme ; hrēoh wæs þær inne

bēatende brim ; ne mihte beorna hlōð

of þām fæstenne flēame spōwan.

Wæg̃as wēoxon, wadu hlynsodon, 1545

flugon fyr̃gnāstas, flōd yðum wēoll.

Ðær wæs yðfynde innan burgum

gēomorgidd wrecen ; gehðo *māendan*

forhtferð manig, fūslēoð *gōlon*.

Egeslic æled ēagsỹne wearð, 1550

heardlic heretēam, hlēoðor gryrelic ;

þurh lyftgelāc lēges blāestas

weallas ymbwurpon, wæter mycladon.

þær wæs wōp wera wide gehỹred,

earmlic ylða gedræg. þā þær ān ongann, 1555

1532 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* scealtes sweg (*K. tr.* salt wave) ; *Gm.* note sealtes or scealces ? *Ettm.* note swealhes = *abyssi* ; *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* sealtes sweg ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 19) sealtne. — 1533 *K.* beorþegn. — 1534 *K.* ombeht þegnas. — 1537 *K.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> utmyne. — 1539 *Ettm.* dunscreafum. *K.* drohtoð. — 1540 *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.* eorðan 7wist ; *Gm.*, *Ettm.* eorðan and wist ; *Ettm.* note eorðan onwist ; *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* andwist. — 1542 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* -wealme. — 1545 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *W.* wudu. — 1547 *MS.* Innan ; *Th.* as *MS.* hinan, text innan. — 1548–9 *MS.*, *Edd.* wrecen, mænan, galen ; *Gm.* note mæned ; *Ettm.* note wrecan, galan. *Edd.*, except *K.* forht ferð. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* fus leoð. — 1551 *K.* grynelic. — 1553 *Gn.* note ymbhwurpon ?



fēasceaft hæleð,      folc gadorigean,  
 hēan, hygegēomor,      hēofende spræc :  
 “ Nū gē magon sylfe      sōð gecnāwan,  
 þæt wē mid unrihte      ellpēodigne  
 on carcerne      clommum belegdon,      1560  
 | witebendum ;      ūs sēo wyrd scyðeð,      [f. 50<sup>b</sup>]  
 heard ond hetegrim :      þæt is [hēr] swā cūð.  
 Is hit mycle sēle,      þæs þe ic sōð talige,  
 þæt wē hine ālȳsan      of leoðobendum,  
 ealle ānmōde      (ofost is sēlost),      1565  
 ond ūs þone hālgan      helpe biddan,  
 gēoce ond frōfre.      Ūs bið gearu sōna  
 sybb æfter sorge,      gif wē sēcap tō him.”  
 þā þær Andrēa      orgete wearð  
 on fyrhðlocan      folces gebæro,      1570  
 þær wæs mōdigra      [mægen] forbēged,  
 wigendra þrym.      Wæter fæðmedon,  
 flēow firgendstrēam,      flōd wæs on luste,  
 oppæt brēost oferstāg,      brim weallende,  
 eorlum oð exle.      þā se æðeling hēt      1575  
 strēamfare stillan,      stormas restan  
 ymbe stānhleoðu.      Stōp ūt hræðe  
 cēne collenferð,      carcern āgeaf,  
 glēawmōd, Gode lēof ;      him [wæs] gearu sōna  
 þurh strēamræce      stræt gerȳmed ;      1580  
 smeolt wæs se sigewang,      symble wæs drȳge  
 folde fram flōde,      swā his fōt gestōp.

1557 *Th.*, *Gm.* hyge geomor. — 1559 *Ettm.* elpeodigne. — 1562 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before þæt; *Gm.* note supplies hæleðum, apparently before cūð; *Ettm.* here-cūð; *Gn.* her swa cūð; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*, with no mark of omission. — 1569 *K.*, *Ettm.* note ongete. — 1571 *Gn.* þæt wæs? for þær wæs. *Th.* note, *Edd.* except *B.*, supply mægen before forbeged. — 1573 *Ettm.* firigenstream; *Gn.* firigendstream. — 1575 *Ettm.* eaxle. — 1576 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *W.* stream fare. — 1577 *Edd.*, except *W.*, ymb. — 1578 *Gm.*, *K.* carcerne; *Gm.* note carcern. — 1579 *Gn.*, *B.* supply wæs after him, other *Edd.*, after stræt, 1580<sup>b</sup>.

Wurdon burgware bliðe on mōde,  
 ferhðgefēonde. þā wæs forð cumen  
 gēoc æfter gyrne; geofon swaðrode 1585  
 purh hāliges hæs, hlyst yst forgeaf,  
 brimrād gebād. þā se beorg tōhlād,  
 eorðscræf egeslic, ond þær in forlēt  
 flōd fæðmian, fealewe wægās,  
 gēotende gegrind grund eall forswealg. 1590  
 Nālas hē þær yðe āne bisencte,  
 ach þæs weorodes ēac ðā wyrrestan,  
 faa folcsceaðan, fēowertýne  
 gewiton mid þý wæge in forwyrd sceacan  
 under eorþan grund. þā wearð ācolmōd, 1595  
 forhtferð manig folces on lāste;  
 wēndan hie [wifa] ond wera cwealmes,  
 þearlra | geþinga ðrāge hnāgran, [f. 51<sup>a</sup>]  
 syððan māne faa, morðorscyldige,  
 gūðgelācan under grund hruron. 1600  
 Hie ðā ānmōde ealle cwædon:  
 “Nū is gesýne, ðæt þe sōð Meotud,  
 cyniṅ eallwihta, cræftum wealdeð,  
 sē ðisne ār hider onsende  
 þēodum tō helpe. Is nū þearf mycel, 1605  
 þæt wē gumcystum georne hýran.”

1584 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* ferhð gefeonde. *K.*, *B.* forðcumen. — 1585 *MS.*, *B.*, *W.* heofon. *Ettm.* sweðrode. — 1588 *Th.* (but not *K.* as *W.* states), in-forlet. — 1592 *K.* ah. *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* weorudes. — 1593 *MS.* fáá; *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.*, fa. — 1595 *K.* eorðgrund. — 1596 *Edd.* forht ferð. — 1597 *MS.* hie 7 wera; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *B.*, as *MS.* with no indication of omission; *K.* indicates omission before wera; *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* wifa after hie. — 1598 After f. 50<sup>b</sup> *Th.* supposes a folio to have been cut out of the *MS.*, and indicates an omission in his text; other *Edd.* see no interruption of the narrative. *K.* þræge. — 1599 *MS.* fáa; *Edd.* fa, except *Ettm.* fah, *Th.*, *W.* faa. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) -scyldge. — 1601 *MS.* h<sup>i</sup>e. — 1603 *Ettm.* ealwihta. — 1604 *Ettm.* supplies us, *Gn.* este before onsende; *Gn.* note hider on sende? See Notes. — 1606 *Gn.* gym-; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> gum-.

## [XV]

þā se hālga ongann    hæleð blissigean,  
 wīgendra þrēat    wordum rētan :  
 “ Ne bēoð gē tō forhte,    þēh þe fell curen  
 synnigra cynn ;    swylt þrōwode,    1610  
 wītu be gewyrhtum ;    ēow is wuldres lēoht  
 torht ontȳned,    gif gē teala hycgað.”  
 Sende þā his bēne    fore bearn Godes,  
 bæd hāligne    helpe gefremman  
 gumena geogoðe,    þe on geofene ær    1615  
 þurh flōdes fæðm    feorh gesealdon,  
 ðæt þā gāstas,    gōde orfeorme,  
 in wīta forwyrd,    wuldre bescyrede,  
 in fēonda geweald    gefered [*ne*] wurdan.  
 þā ðæt ærende    ealwealdan Gode    1620  
 æfter hlēoðorcwidum    hāliges gāstes  
 wæs on þanc sprecen,    ðēoda ræswan ;  
 hēt þā onsunde    ealle ārisan,  
 geonge of grēote,    þā ær geofon cwealde.  
 þā þær ofostlice    upp āstōdon    1625  
 manige on meðle,    mīne gefrēge,  
 eaforan unweaxne ;    ðā wæs eall eador  
 leoðolic ond gāstlic,    þēah hīe lungre ær  
 þurh flōdes fæw    feorh ālēton ;  
 onfēngon fulwihte    ond freoðuwære,    1630  
 wuldres wedde    wītum āspēdde,  
 |mundbyrd Meotudes.    þā se mōdiga hēt,    [f. 51<sup>b</sup>]  
 cyninges cræftiga,    ciricean getimbran,

1611 *K.*, *B.* gewyrhtum. — 1618 *Gn.* note ne in? — 1622 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* ræswum.  
 — 1625 *Th.*, *K.* uppastodon. — 1627 *K.* geador. — 1630 *Gn.* freoðo-. — 1633  
*Gn.* note cræftigan? but *Spr.* i, 168 cræftiga; *K.* cræftigra; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 450)  
 cræftga.

gerwan Godes tempel, þær sio geogoð ārās  
 þurh fæder fulwiht ond se flōd onsprang. 1635  
 þā gesamnodon, secga prēate,  
 weras geond þā wīnburg wīde ond sīde,  
 eorlas anmōde, ond hira idesa mid;  
 cwædon holdlice hýran woldon,  
 onfōn fromlice fullwihtes bæð 1640  
 Dryhtne tō willan, ond dīofolgild,  
 ealde eolhstedas, ānforlætan.  
 þā wæs mid þý folce fulwiht hæfen,  
 æðele mid eorlum, ond æ Godes  
 riht āræred, ræd on lande 1645  
 mid þām ceasterwarum, cirice gehālgod.  
 þær se ār Godes āne gesette,  
 wīsfæstne wer, wordes glēawne,  
 in þære beorhtan byrig bīsceop þām lēodum,  
 ond gehālgode fore þām heremægene 1650  
 þurh apostolhād, Plātan nemned,  
 þēodum on þearfe, ond prīste bebēad,  
 þæt hīe his lāre læston georne,  
 feorhræd fremedon. Sægde his fūsne hige,  
 þæt hē þā goldburg ofgifan wolde, 1655  
 secga seledream ond sincgestreōn,  
 beorht bēagselu, ond him brimpisan  
 æt sæs faroðe sēcan wolde.  
 þæt wæs þām weorode weorc tō gepoligenne,  
 þæt hīe se lēodfruma leng ne wolde 1660  
 wihte gewunian. þā him wuldres God  
 on þām sīðfæte sylfum ætýwde,

1635 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> þurh fæder fultum. — 1636 *K.* gesamnadon. — 1642 *Gm. note*, *K.*  
 ealhstedas. — 1647 *MS.* sio. — 1653 *MS.* he. — 1658 *MS.*, *Th.* foroðe. — 1659  
*MS.*, *Edd.* weor, except *W.* weorce; *Kluge* (*Anglia* iv, 106), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 20)  
*weorc.* *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 482) would have uninflected infinitive for gepoligenne.

ond þæt word gecwæð, weoruda Dryhten :

\* \* \*

“folc of firenum? Is him fūs hyge,

gāð gēomriende, geohðo mænað

1665

weras wif samod; hira wōp becōm,

murnende mōd, . . . :

\* \* \*

. . . [mē] fore snēowan.

Ne scealt ðū þæt ēowde ānforlætan

on swā nīowan gefēan, ah him naman | minne [f. 52<sup>a</sup>] 1670

on ferðlocan fæste getimbre.

Wuna in þære wīnbyrig, wīgendra hlēo,

salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst;

syððan ðū mid mildse mīnre fērest.”

þā eft gewāt ōðre siðe

1675

mōdig, mægene rōf, Marmedonia

ceastre sēcan. Crīstenra wēox

word ond wīsdōm, syððan wuldres þegn,

æþelcyniges ār, ēagum sāwon.

Lærde þā þā lēode on gelēafan weg,

1680

trymede torhtlice; tīrēadigra

wenede tō wuldre weorod unsmæte,

tō þām hālgan hām heofona rīces,

1663 *Th.* after dryhten at least two lines wanting; *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.* indicate the omission of one or more lines; *Gn.* says “*Einige wenige Zeilen, den Anfang der Rede enthaltend, sind hier ausgefallen, etwa des Inhalts: ‘Warum willst du die Leute so schnell verlassen, die doch so eben erst bekehrt sind von ihren Sünden’*”; *B.* supposes no interruption of the narrative. See Notes. — 1664 *MS.*, *W.* his him. — 1666 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* him þa for hira. — 1667 There is no indication of omission in the *MS.*, but *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.* leave space for two half-lines after mod; *Gn.* supplies as follows:

murnende mod, [nu þu on merebate  
wilt ofer flodas] fore sneowan.

*B.* as *MS.*, without interruption; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 20) supplies me before fore. See Notes. *K.* moð. — 1671 *Gm.*, *K.* ferhðlocan. — 1681 *Gm.* note, *Gn.*, *W.* tir eadigra.

þær Fæder ond Sunu      ond frōfre Gāst  
 in þrinnesse      þrymme wealdeð      1685  
 in woruld worulda      wuldorgestealda.  
 Swylce se hālga      herigeas þrēade,  
 dēofulgild tōdrāf      ond gedwolan fylde.  
 þæt wæs Sātāne      sār tō gepolienne,  
 mycel mōdes sorg,      þæt hē ðā menigeo geseah      1690  
 hweorfan higeblīðe      fram helltrafum  
 þurh Andrēas      ēste lāre  
 tō fægeran gefēan,      þær nāfre fēondes ne bið,  
 gāstes gramhȳdiges,      gang on lande.  
     þā wæron gefylde      æfter Frēan dōme      1695  
 dagas on rīme,      swā him Dryhten bebēad,  
 þæt hē þā wederburg      ʼwunian sceolde.  
 Ongan hine þā fȳsan      ond tō flōte gyrwan,  
 blissum hrēmig,      wolde on brimpisan  
 Achaie      oðre sīðe      1700  
 sylfa gesēcan,      þær hē sāwulgedāl,  
 beaducwealm gebād.      þæt þām banan ne wearð  
 hleahtre behworfen,      ah in helle ceaf  
 sīð āsette,      ond syððan nō,  
 fāh, frēonda lēas,      frōfre benohte.      1705  
 Ðā ic lādan gefrægn      lēoda weorode  
 lēofne lārēow      tō līdes stefnan,  
 mæcgas |mōdgēomre;      þær manegum wæs      [f. 52<sup>b</sup>]

1685 *Gn.* þrinnesse. — 1689 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 482) would change gepolienne to the unreflected infinitive. — 1694 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -hydges. — 1699 *B.* blyssum; *B.*<sup>2</sup> blissum. — 1700 *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) supplies eft before Achaie. *MS.* áchaie; *Th.* ác hale, indicating the omission of a word before ac; *Gm.* text as *Th.*, note wolde achale æðelingas oðre sīðe etc. (achale = onsund); *K.* Achaie; *Gn.* Achaia; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> as *K.* — 1703 *K.* hleafre. — 1704 *MS.* asette ȝ syð no; *W.* between syð and no, a small hole in the parchment, not large enough to have contained -ðan; *Th.* indicates omission before ond; *Gm.* and sīð no, note and sīð of geaf (or ne of geaf) no; *K.* and sīð no (*tr.* 'never since'); *Gn.*, *B.* syððan; *W.* as *MS.* — 1705 *Gm.* feonda corrected (*p.* 182) to freonda.

hāt æt heortan      hyge weallende.  
 Hīe ðā gebrōhton      æt brimes næsse      1710  
 on wægpele      wigan unslāwne ;  
 stōdon him ðā on ōfre      æfter rēotan,  
 þendon hīe on yðum      æðelinga wunn  
 ofer seolhpaðu      gesēon mihton,  
 ond þā weorðedon      wuldres āgend,      1715  
 cleopodon on corðre,      ond cwædon þus :  
 “Ān is ēce God      eallra gesceafta !  
 Is his miht ond his æht      ofer middangeard  
 brēme gebledsod,      ond his blæd ofer eall  
 in heofonþrymme      hālgum scīneð,      1720  
 wlitige on wuldre,      tō wīdan ealdre,  
 ēce mid englum.      þæt is æðele cyning ! ”

1713 *Gn.* wynn. — 1714 *MS.* plainly seolh paðu; *Th, Edd.* seolhwaðu; *Gn.* note paðu? *Siev.* (*PBB.* i, 492) seolhpaðu; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 21) seolhbaðu. — 1715 *Edd.*, except *B., W.*, weorðodon. — 1716 *Th.* cwæðon; *Gm.* cwæden, corrected (*p.* 182) to cwædon. — 1720 *Gn.* on for in.

# THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

Hwæt ! ic þysne sang    sīðgēomor fand  
 on sēocum sefan,    samnode wīde,  
 hū þā æðelingas    ellen cȳðdon,  
 torhte ond tīrēadige.    Twelfe wæron,  
 dædum dōmfæste,    Dryhtne gecorene, 5  
 lēofe on life.    Lof wīde sprang,  
 miht ond mærho,    ofer middangeard,  
 þeodnes þegna,    þrym unlȳtel.  
 Hālgan hēape    hlȳt wīsode,  
 þær hie Dryhtnes æ    dēman sceoldon, 10  
 reccan fore rincum.    Sume on Rōmebyrig,  
 frame, fyrdhwate,    feorh ofgēfon  
 þurg Nērōnes    nearwe searwe,  
 Petrus ond Paulus ;    is sē apostolhād  
 wīde geweorðod    ofer werþeoda. 15

Swylce Andrēas    in Achagia  
 for Ēgias    aldre genēðde ;  
 ne þreodode hē    fore þrymme ðeodcyniges,  
 æniges on eorðan,    ac him ēce gecēas  
 langsumre lif,    lēoht unhwīlen, 20  
 syþpan hildeheard,    heriges byrhtme,  
 æfter gūðplegan    | gealgan þehte. [f. 53<sup>a</sup>]

Hwæt ! wē ēac gehȳrdon    be Iōhanne  
 æglæawe menn    æðelo reccan ;

1 MS. wæt, with space left vacant for the omitted H. — 4 MS. woron ; Gn. note foron? — 11 Gn. Rome byrig. — 13 MS., Th., K., Simons (p. 104) neawe ; Th. note nearwe? Gn. nearo-searwe. — 18 MS. þreodode<sup>he</sup>fore. — 21 MS., Th., K., Gn. hilde heard. — 24 K., Gn. ægleawe.



sē manna wæs,      mine gefrēge,  
 þurh cnēorisse      Crīste lēofast  
 on weres hāde,      syððan wuldres cyning,  
 engla ordfruma,      eorðan sōhte  
 þurh fāemnan hrif,      fæder manncynnes.  
 Hē in Effesia      ealle þrāge  
 lēode lārde ;      þanon lifes weg  
 siðe gesōhte,      swegle drēamas,  
 beorhtne boldwelan.      Næs his brōðor læt,  
 siðes sǣne,      ac ðurh sweordes bite  
 mid Iūdēum      Iācōb sceolde  
 fore. Hērōde      ealdre gedǣlan,  
 feorh wið flǣsce.      Philipus wæs  
 mid Assēum ;      þanon ēce lif  
 þurh rōde cwealm      ricene gesōhte,  
 syððan on galgan      in Gearapolim  
 āhangen wæs      hildecorðre.

Hūru ! wīde wearð      wurd undyrne,  
 þæt tō Indēum      aldre gelǣdde  
 beaducræftig beorn,      Bartholamēus ;  
 þone heht Astrias      in Albāno,  
 hǣðen ond hygeblind,      hēafde benēotan,  
 forþan hē ðā hǣðengild      hýran ne wolde,  
 wīg weorðian ;      him wæs wuldres drēam,  
 lifwela lēofra      þonne þās lēasan godu.  
 Swylce Thōmas ēac      þriste genēðde  
 on Indēa      oðre dǣlas,  
 þær manegum wearð      mōd onlihted,

29 *Gn.* mancynnes. — 30 *W.* Effessia ; *Nachtr.* Effesia. — 32 *K.* swegledream  
 — 36 *Gn.* ealdre ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> ealdrē. — 37 *Gn.* Philippus. — 39 *K.* rodecwealm. — 41 7  
*K.*, *Gn.* hilde corðre ; *Gn.* (*Spr.* ii, 73) hildecorðre. — 42 *Th.*, *K.* weard ; *K.*, ( *wyrd.* — 43 *Th.*, *K.* gelæððe ; *Gn.* gelædde ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> geneðde ; *Nap.* gelædde *plain*  
*altered from* gelæððe. — 46 *K.* beneosan. — 49 *MS.* plainly þas ; so also *Na*;  
*Th.*, *Gn.*, *W.* þæs ; *K.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> þas. — 52 *Nap.* i of onlihted *corrected from* u.

hige onhyrded,    þurh his hālig word ;  
 syððan collenferð    cyninges brōðor  
 āwehte for weorodum,    wundorcræfte,    55  
 þurh Dryhtnes miht,    þæt hē of dēaðe ārās,  
 geong ond gūðhwæt,    ond him wæs Gad nama ;  
 ond ðā þāem folce    feorg gesealde,  
 sin æt sæcce,    sweord|ræs fornam    [f. 53<sup>b</sup>]  
 þurh hǣðene hand,    þær se hālga gecrang,    60  
 wund for weorudum ;    þonon wuldres lēoht  
 sāwle gesōhte    sigores tō lēane.

Hwæt ! wē þæt gehýrdon    þurg hālige bēc,  
 þæt mid Sigelwarum    sōð yppe wearð,  
 dryhtlic dōm Godes ;    dæges ōr onwōc,    65  
 lēohtes gelēafan,    land wæs gefǣlsod  
 þurh Māthēus    mære lāre ;  
 þone hēt Irtācus    ðurh yrne hyge,  
 wælrēow cyning,    wæpnum āswebban.  
 Hýrde wē þæt Iācōb    in Ierūsalem    70  
 fore sācerdum    swilt þrōwode ;  
 ðurg stenges sweng    stiðmōd gecrang,  
 ēadig for æfestum ;    hafað nū ēce lif  
 mid wuldorcining,    wīges tō lēane.  
 Næron ðā twēgen    tohtan sǣne,    75  
 lindgelāces ;    land Persēa  
 sōhton siðfrome,    Simon ond Thaddēus,  
 beornas beadorōfe ;    him wearð bām samod  
 ān endedæg ;    æðele sceoldon  
 ðurh wæpenhete    weorc þrōwigan,    80  
 sigelēan sēcan,    ond þone sōðan gefēan,  
 drēam æfter dēaðe,    þā gedæled wearð  
 lif wið lice,    ond þās lānan gestreōn,

3 Gn. þurh. — 70 Gn. hyrdon we? — 77 In the MS. h of Thaddeus is written *bove the line*.

idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan.

Ðus ðā æðelingas ende gesealdon,

85

XII. tilmōdige; tīr unbræcne

wēgan on gewitte, wuldres þegnas.

Nū ic þonne bidde beorn, sē ðe lufige

þysses giddes begang, þæt hē gēomrum mē

þone hālgan hēap helpe bidde,

90

friðes ond fultomes. Hū! ic frēonda beþearf,

liðra on lāde, þonne ic sceal langne hām,

eardwīc uncūð, āna gesēcan,

lætān mē on laste līc, eorðan dæl,

wælrēaf wunigean weormum tō hrōðre.

95

| Hēr mæg findan foreþances glēaw,

[f. 54<sup>a</sup>]

sē ðe hine lysteð lēoðgiddunga,

hwā þās fitte fēgde. ƿ þær on ende standeþ,

eorlas þæs on eorðan brūcaþ; ne mōton hīe āwa ætsomne,

worlðwunigende: Ʒ sceal gedrēosan,

100

ƿ on ēðle, æfter tōhrēosan

læne līces frætewa, efne swā ƿ tōglīdeð.

Ðonne ƿ ond ƿ cræftes nēosað

nihtes nearowe; on him † ligeð,

cyninges þēodōm. Nū ðū cunnon miht,

105

hwā on þām wordum wæs werum oncyðig.

84 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.* ealne. — 85 *MS.* Ðvs; so also *Nap.*; *Th.*, *K.*, *W.* Dys; *Gn.* þus. — 87 *K.* wægon. — 90 *MS.* halga. — 91 *K.*, *Gn.*, *Siev.* nu for hu. — 92 *W.* omits sceal. — 93 *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.* gesece; *Siev.* gesecean. — 94 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* læt; *Siev.* læte. — 96–122 For the *MS.* readings of this passage, see the literal transcript in the Notes. — 96 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* foreþances. — 98 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* fegde, standeþ. For *Nap.*'s line-division, see Notes. — 99 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.*, *W.* brucaþ. — 100 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* supply the rune. — 101 *Nap.* tohreosaþ; *Siev.*, *Tr.* tohreosan. — 102 All read læne. — 103 *Nap.* does not restore ll. 103–104; he reads doubtfully, in 103<sup>a</sup>, swa, followed by faint traces of two runes. *Siev.*, *Tr.* as in text. *Nap.*, *Tr.* with *MS.* neotað; *Siev.* neosað. — 104 *Siev.* † ligeð; *Tr.* † legeð. For *Nap.*'s suggestions, see Notes. — 105 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* cyninges. *MS.* cunnon; *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* cunnan. — 106 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* restore hwa on þam (*Siev.* þæm) wor-.

Sīe þæs gemyndig,      mann sē ðe lufige  
 þisses galdres begang,      þæt hē gēoce mē  
 ond frōfre fricle.      Ic sceall feor heonan,  
 ān elles forð,      eardes nēosan,      110  
 sīð āsettan,      nāt ic sylfa hwær,  
 of þisse worulde ;      wīc sindon uncūð,  
 eard ond ēðel.      Swā bið ælcum menn,  
 nempe hē godcundes      gāstes brūce.

Ah utu wē þē geornor      tō Gode cleopigan,      115  
 sendan ūsse bēne      on þā beorhtan gesceaft,  
 þæt wē þæs botles      brūcan mōtan,  
 hāmes in hēhðo.      þær is hihta mæst,  
 þær cyning engla      clænum gildeð  
 lēan unhwīlen.      Nū ā his lof standeð,      120  
 mycel ond mære,      ond his miht seomaþ,  
 ēce ond edgiong,      ofer ealle gesceaft.      Finit.

107 *Nap. restores* mann se þe lufige. — 108–109 *Nap.* me ond frof-. — 110 *Nap.* forð ea-. — 112 *Nap.* of þisse; *W.* on þisse. — 113 *Nap.* bið. — 115 *Nap.* Ah utu, *but suggests* utun. — 116 *W.* beochtan, *misprint?* — 119 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *W.* gildeð. — 121 *Siev.* somað.



## NOTES ON ANDREAS

In the MS. the narrative is divided into sections of approximately equal length. There are in all fifteen, or with addition of *Ap.* sixteen, sections, varying from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fol. in length. Each section begins with a capital letter or a group of capital letters, and ends with a period or a more distinctive and frequent mark of a sectional ending, consisting of a semicolon followed by a hook-shaped symbol. Between the various sections a space is left blank, usually not more than sufficient for a single line. For further description, see *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi ff. In the present edition the divisions of the MS. are followed, and are further indicated by bracketed numerals. The earlier editions vary widely in their treatment of these sectional divisions of the MS. Thorpe follows the MS., except that he unites sections three and four. Grimm further reduces the number of sections to seven. Kemble prints his text without division into sections. Grein makes eleven sections, Baskervill thirty. Wülker prints his text as Kemble does, without division into sections. He inserts in the margin, however, the numerals which designate Grein's eleven sections, and indicates the division of the MS. in his notes.

1. The poem opens with the conventional epic formula, citing the authority of *oral* tradition for the story. For similar openings, compare the following:

Hwæt! wē Gār-dena in gēardagum  
þēodcýninga þrym gefrūnon,  
hū Ǻ æþelingas ellen fremedon.

*Beow.* 1-3.

Hwæt! wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habað  
ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas  
wræclīco wordriht wera cnēorissum,  
in ūprodor ēadigra gehwām  
æfter bealusīðe bōte lifes,  
lifigendra gehwām langsumne ræd,  
hæleðum secgan: gehyre sē ðe wille!

*Ex.* 1-7.

Gefrægn ic Hebreos ēadge lifgean  
in Hierusalem, goldhord dælan,  
cýningdōm habban, swā him gecynde wæs, etc.

*Dan.* 1-3.

Hæbbe ic gefrugnen þætte is feor heonan  
ēastdælum on æþelast londa  
fīrum gefræge. *Ph.* 1-3<sup>a</sup>.

**Cf.** also *Jul.* 1; *Mod.* 1; *Cross* 1; *Sal.* 179; *Ap.* 1-4. An interesting occurrence of the formula is that in *Beow.* 875, where it introduces an indirect report

of an episodic narrative. The citation of traditional authority is also frequently found in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced: with *gefrignan*, *Beow.* 74; *Chr.* 301; *Gen.* 2060; *Ex.* 98, 388, and elsewhere; with *gehýran*, *Mald.* 117; *El.* 364; *Ap.* 23, 63, 70, and elsewhere. *Hwæt* occurs, with or without the epic formula, in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced; it is used with less emphatic sense, also, as a weak interjection; for examples, see Glossary. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV, 448-450, points out that this use of the neuter of the interrogative pronoun as an exclamation is peculiar to Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon. The use persists as late as Elizabethan English, frequently, as in Mod. Eng., in introducing interrogative sentences, but also as a mild interjection in introducing declarative sentences; cf. *Taming of the Shrew* I, ii, 248: 'What, this gentleman will outtalk us all'; *Richard III* IV, iv, 320: 'What, we have many goodly days to see.' Cf. 63, note, and for the use of *hwæt* as interjection in prose, see Wülfing, II, 688-692. — *on fyrndagum*. The phrase limits, not *gefrūnan*, but the verbal idea implied in l. 2<sup>a</sup>. Hall translates 'who lived in the yore-days.' The construction is similar to that of *in gēardagum*, *Beow.* 1; and cf. *Beow.* 575<sup>b</sup>-576: *nō ic on niht gefrægn under heofones hwea heardran feohtan*; *Wid.* 16<sup>b</sup>-17: *hē mæst geþāh þāra þe ic ofer foldan gefræge hæbbe*. See also, among numerous examples, *Beow.* 74; 2752-2754.

2. *under tunglum*. The usual formula is *under heofonum*, or *wolcnum*, changed here, Cosijn thinks (*PBB.* XXI, 8), chiefly for the sake of the alliteration — *tīrēadlge hæleð*. Cf. *Ap.* 4, and note.

3. *þēodnes þegnas*. Cf. *Beow.* 1085: *þēodnes þegne*; *Ap.* 8: *þēodnes þegn*; *Beow.* 1081: *Finnes þegnas*; and similar uses frequently. The phrase, originally, as in *Beowulf*, used of the followers of a temporal prince, applies here to the followers of the Lord. *þegn*, literally 'servant,' has not therefore the color of that word in the Oriental phrase 'servant of the Lord.' The word in Anglo-Saxon verse is a dignified one, and its connotation is epic, heroic. This value derives from the position of the *þegn* in the Anglo-Saxon social system. 'As the royal power and dignity grew, it came to be looked on as the highest honour to enter into the personal service of the King. Two results followed: service towards the King, a place, that is, in the King's *comitatus*, became the badge and standard of nobility. . . . It marks perhaps a decline from the first idea of the *comitatus* that the old word *Gesith*, "companion," answering exactly to the Latin *comes* used by Tacitus, was supplanted by the name *Thegn*, literally "servant." But when personal service was deemed honourable, the name of servant was no degradation, and the name *Thegn* became equivalent to the older *Eorl*.' Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, pp. 51-52. For further discussion of the *comitatus*, see Kemble, *Saxons in England* I, 168-183; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 182-198; 255-280; Andrews, *Old English Manor*, passim; Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 100), pp. 76-103; 146-171; Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 308-333; 378-400. See also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 261-269, for a description of the passages in Anglo-Saxon verse illustrative of the *comitatus*, and to these add the prose story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 755; cf. also Caesar's interesting account of

the *soldurii*, *B. G.* III, 22. Cf. 405-414, note. — Grimm places ll. 3<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup> within parentheses, thus making the sentence a parenthetic exclamation like *Beow.* 18<sup>b</sup>: blæd wide sprang. See 764<sup>b</sup>, note. Cf. *Beow.* 1528: þæt his dōm ālæg.

4. *camprædenne*. *Dicht.*, 'in dem Kampf erlag . . . ihre Hochkraft nimmer'; Kemble, 'their glory failed not, of their warfare.' *Gn., Spr.* I, 155, glosses the form as gen. sg., but it seems best to take it as dative, 'in or at the battle.' The present is the only occurrence of the word, but cf. *wigræden*, *Wald.* 22. — *hneotan*. The form *hneotan* < *hnioton* < *hniton* is pret. pl. of the first ablaut-class, *eo* being a development of *o*-umlaut of *i*; cf. Bright, *MLN.* II, 80, and Bülbring, §§ 235 note, 239, and 241. Cf. also l. 802: geweotan. The unumlauted form is found in *Beow.* 1327, 2544: þonne hniton feðan. Cf. *Icel.* (Cleas.-Vig., p. 270) *hnitu reyr saman*, 'the weapons clashed together.'

5. *gedældon*. The verb is best taken as intransitive. *Cos.* (*PBB.* XXI, 8) cites Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 204, l. 24: ðær næfre lēofe ne gedælað. Pogatscher (*Angl.* XXIII, 263) considers the subject of *gedældon* as unexpressed after *syððan*; the *hīe* which precedes the verb he regards as the object; cf. *An.* 1012; *El.* 1285.

5-6. For the apocryphal legend of the division of the earth among the Apostles, see *Intro.*, p. lix.

6. *hlȳt*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 65: καὶ ἐμέριζον ἑαυτοῖς τὰς χώρας, βάλλοντες κλήρους. Cf. the election of Matthias, *Acts* I, 24-26; and see *Ap.* 9<sup>b</sup>. But the casting of lots was a custom familiar to the Anglo-Saxons through their own traditional inheritance. Tacitus, *Germania* 10, gives an account of the manner of casting lots among the Teutonic tribes on the continent: 'Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferae arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.' The twigs with which the divination was performed were called *tānas* in Anglo-Saxon, hence the word *tān* came to mean 'lot,' as it does in *An.* 1103. Allusions to casting of lots are not frequent in Anglo-Saxon except in translations; an interesting example, however, is *Beow.* 3126, in the description of the partition of the dragon's treasure. The practice must have been a common one, as penalties were fixed for it, as well as for other heathen observances, in the *Poenitentie Ecgberti* IV, 19 (ed. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 380): 'Gif hwā hlȳtas oððe hwatunga begā, oððe his wæccan æt ænigum wylle hæbbe, oððe æt ænigre oððre gesceafte būton æt Godes cyricean, fæste hē III gēar, þæt ān on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā II Wodnesdagum ond Frigedagum on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā oððre dagas, brūce his metes būton flæsce ānum.' The ecclesiastical attitude towards the practice comes out also in the adjectives *hellcræftum*, *hæðengildum*, *An.* 1102. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 27, in a catalogue of the wicked in hell, includes *wiccan*, 'wizards,' and *wigleras*, 'those who practice divination.' See further Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 39-40.

7. For similar breaking of close syntactical agreement by the hemistich or the end of the line, cf. 118, 119-120, 163, 224, 225, 234, 312, 557; *Beow.* 758, 813, 2011, 2928, etc.



8. **frome folctogan.** Cf. *Gu.* 874: from folctoga (of Guthlac); *Ex.* 14: freom folctoga (of Moses); *Beow.* 1641, 2476: frome fyrdhwate.

9. **rōfe rincas.** So *Gen.* 286, 1651; *Gen.* 2049: rincas wæron rōfe. — **rond ond hand.** For other examples of similar riming phrases in Anglo-Saxon verse, see Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 425–426.

10. **on herefelda.** So 18<sup>a</sup>; *El.* 126.

11. **meotudwange.** The only occurrence of the compound; but cf. *meotud-gesceaft*, *meotudsceaft*, 'fate, decree of fate.'

12–13. The allusion, not contained in the Greek or the *Legend*, is evidently a scholium of the poet's.

15. **ūt on þæt īgland.** Cf. l. 28. On these two passages part of my note in *Modern Philology* II, 403, may be quoted: 'There is no equivalent for *īgland* or *ēaland* in the Greek or the Anglo-Saxon prose versions of the legend. The corresponding passages are: *εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*, Bonnet, p. 65, and *ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν*, Bonnet, p. 66; *sē ēadiga Mathēus gehlēat tō Marmadonia þære ceastre*, Bright, *Reader*, p. 113; *æghwylc man þe on þære ceastre cōm ælpēodisc*, Bright, p. 113. A parallel situation is found in the *Phænix*; the land in which the Phoenix dwells is twice referred to as an island, *ænlic is þæt īglond*, *Ph.* 9, *on þām ēalonde*, *Ph.* 287, the second phrase being an elaboration of *ēadig ēðellond*, *Ph.* 279. The corresponding passages in Lactantius, *De ave Phoenice*, are as follows:

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,

Qua patet æterni maxima porta poli;

ll. 1, 2.

Ast ubi primaeva coepit florere iuventa

Evolat ad patrias iam reditura domos.

ll. 115, 116.

The word in the above passages is evidently not to be understood in the specific sense of "island," but rather in the literal sense of "water-land," "land that is reached by water." To the insular Anglo-Saxon all foreign lands must have been "water-lands"; perhaps in this poetical sense the word also carried with it the connotation of remoteness; in both the *Phænix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient. Cf. also *Sal. and Sat.*, 1 ff.:

Hwæt! Ic īglanda eallra hæbbe

bōca onbyrged.

The elaboration of this passage makes *īglanda* refer to Lybia, Greece, and India, none of them islands.'

18. **gescēode.** That the MS. reading, and not *gesceod* (as Grimm and Kemble propose), is right, is determined by the scansion of the half-line. Grimm (in his notes) would derive *gesceod* from *gesceadan*, 'sejungere' ('from joy' or 'happiness' to be supplied mentally). Kemble, deriving the form from the same verb, translates 'oft had the hand of the slaughterer . . . hardly decided for him.' Paul (*PBB.* VI, 94), Sievers (*ibid.* X, 506), and the dictionaries (cf. *Spr.* I, 448, II, 406; B-T. 436), all apparently going back to Dietrich (*Haupt's Zs.* X, 320), suppose a contract verb *scēon*, *scēode*, 'happen,' 'befall' (*Spr.* I, 448 'accidere,' 'contingere,' 'impetrare'). Grein, *Dicht.*, translates accordingly 'grimm ereilte sie oft

die Hand der Mörder.' Grein, according to Wülker, takes the form as optative, and Wülker adds, 'da ein futuraler begriff in beziehung auf den vorhergehenden satz darin liegt, stimme ich Grein bei'; Wülker does not state from what verb he derives the form. But Grein neither in the *Sprachschatz* nor in his translation gives any indication that he takes the form as optative, and the syntax of the passage requires only the pret. ind., as e.g. l. 1420<sup>b</sup>. Trautmann (quoted by Simons, p. 60) evades the grammatical difficulty by emending the text, reading *hand gesceodun* = 'hände schadeten.'

The form *gesceode*, in the sense demanded by the context, has, however, been satisfactorily accounted for by Professor Bright (*MLN.* XVII, 426) in a discussion of the reduplicating verb *gescēadan*, 'separate,' 'decide,' 'deal out,' *Ex.* 504–506. By the side of the regular redup. pret. of this verb is found a weak pret. *gescēode*, *Dan.* 620, *scēode*, *Ex.* 586; and a weak past part. *gescēod*, *Ex.* 506. A parallel development is to be observed in the verb *gesceððan*, *gescōd*, *-scēod* (with weak pret. *-sceððede*, cf. *Gram.*, § 392, 4, note 6); *gescēode*, *An.* 18, is a new weak preterit formed on the old strong preterit. The verb has thus three preterit forms, *gescōd* (*-scēod*), *gesceððede*, and *gescēode*. The hypothetical *scēon* is therefore to be set aside and all the examples referred to *scēadan* or *sceððan*.

20. *fēondes*. Cf. 1294; *Chr.* 1395: *fæcnun fēonde*; *Beow.* 2128: *fēondes fæð(mum)*; *Gen.* 453: *þurh fēondes cræft*; *ibid.* 492: *þurh dēofles cræft*, etc. Note also *El.* 207: *sē ealda fēond*; *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Bright's *Reader*, p. 131, l. 24): *þām ealdan dēofle*; and for the modern uses, see *NED.* s.v. *fiend* and *enemy*, and Bradley's remarks, *Making of English*, pp. 197–198.

23–25. For this tradition of cannibalism see *Introd.*, p. lxvi. Cf. Bonnet, p. 65, ll. 7–8: *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης οὔτε ἄρτον ἤσθιον οὔτε οἶνον ἐπινον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἐσθίοντες σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνοντες αὐτῶν τὸ αἷμα*. Six of the ten MSS. read *ῥῥωρ*, however, instead of *οἶνον*. *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 6–8: *hlāf ne æton, ne wæter ne druncon, ac æton manna lichaman and heora blōd druncon*.

Aside from the *Andreas*, no other allusions to the practice of cannibalism are made in the extant literature of the Anglo-Saxon period, and there is no reason to suppose that any native traditions concerning cannibalism were current among the Anglo-Saxons. A few early allusions in Continental literature to a belief in the existence of cannibalism among the Finns and other peoples of northeastern Europe are mentioned by Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, 49, 354; III, 17–18. See also Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, pp. 6–15. The nearest approach to cannibalism in Anglo-Saxon literature is in the story of Grendel and his dam in the *Beowulf*. These creatures devour the bodies of men and drink their blood. They are, however, only half human, being possessed of more than human strength and distinguished by monstrous characteristics both of figure and of mind. The story of Grendel has been explained as a survival of early stories of cannibalism, dating back perhaps to the period of the cave-dwellers; see Brooke, *History of Early English Literature* I, 118–119, and *English Literature from the Beginning*, p. 66; for the theory that cannibalism was practised by the cave-dwellers, see Andree, *ibid.*, pp. 1–6. Perhaps further connection between the race of the giants and cannibalism may be seen in the word *eoten*, 'giant,' Icel. *jǫtunn*, which has been explained as derived from the root which appears in

*etan*, 'eat,' 'devour.' See Müllenhoff, II, 354; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 518–520, IV, 1437; Golther, *Handbuch d. German. Myth.*, p. 161. It is possible that an Anglo-Saxon might have drawn a parallel between the story of Beowulf's fight with the man-eating Grendel and St. Andrew's conflict with the man-eating Mermedonians.

23. **ah**. Normally **ac**, but also **ah** (eight times) and **ach** (once) in *Andreas*; see Glossary for citations, and *Gram.*, § 210, 3.

24. **feorrancumenra**. So also in *Gen.* 1836<sup>a</sup>, *feorrencumenra*, appositive to *ellðēodigra*, 1835<sup>a</sup>; and *Beow.* 361, *feorrancumene*, appositive to *Gēata lēode*, 362<sup>b</sup>; cf. also *Beow.* 1819. Kluge's comment (*PBB.* IX, 188) on the passage in *Beowulf*, to the effect that *feorrancumen* as substantive compound = 'stranger' is better stylistically than *feorran cumen*, applies with equal force to the other two passages.

25<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 178: *Swylc wæs þēaw hyra* (in a passage referring to the Danes as heathen); *Beow.* 1246: *wæs þēaw hyra* (of the followers of Beowulf). Note also l. 177<sup>b</sup>, with which cf. *Gu.* 390: *swā bið geoguðe þēaw*; *Gu.* 538: *swā bið fēonda þēaw*; *Whale* 31: *swā bið scinna þēaw, dēofla wīse*. Cf. 177–179.

28. **ēaland**. See 15, note. — **sōhte**. The verb is singular, as is usual after *þāra þe* preceded by *ænig*, *ælc*, *æghwylc*, *manig*, etc. See 380, 1153; and cf. *Beow.* 1460–1461: *nāfre hit æt hilde ne swāc manna ængum þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand*; *Beow.* 1405–1407: *magoþegna bær þone sēlestan sāwollēasne þāra þe mid Hroðgare hām eahtode*. Numerous other instances are cited, Wūlfing, I, 416–419, and by Grimm, p. 94. Grimm points out that a similar idiom is found in Old Saxon. A plural verb is also occasionally used after *þāra þe*, e.g. *El.* 967–970: *Ðā wæs . . . lāded mære morgenspel manigum on andan þāra þe dryhtnes æ dyrnan woldon*; *El.* 1286–1287: *ānra gehwylc þāra þe gewurdon on wīdan fēore*.

31<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 119. — 31<sup>b</sup>. **hēafodgimmas**. Sievers (*PBB.* I, 503) supposes a plural form *-gimme*, as approximate imitation of the Latin plural, the form *-gimme* being supported by the rime with *-grimme*. Cosijn, in emending to the usual plural form, adduces *Gu.* 1276<sup>a</sup>: *hēafdes gimmas*, and Sievers, in a remark appended to Cosijn's note, accepts the emendation, explaining *-gimme* as an unconscious echo of *-grimme*. For the metaphor cf. *Chr.* 1330; *Ex. Gn.* 44; *Ph.* 301 ff.; and see 50, note.

32. **āgēttōn**. Gm. and K., reading *aguton*, derive the form from *āgēotan*, 'to pour out'; K. translates 'the eye-sight . . . the gem of the head gallows-minded poured out with javelin points.' Gn., *Spr.* I, 22, reads *āgēton*, and derives the form from *āgitan*, 'destruere, extinguere, subvertere': *Dicht.*, 'grausam zerstörten mit der Geere Spitzen.' As weak verb, however, the word is found in this phrase in *Brun.* 18: *gārum āgēted* (variant, *forgrunden*); and cf. *An.* 1143; *Fates of Men* 16: *sumne sceal gār āgētan, sumne gūð ābrēotan*. Simons, p. 5, also reads *āgēt[t]on*. The quantity of the radical vowel of *āgētan* is discussed by Sievers, *PBB.* X, 313.

33–34. Cf. *Chr.* 1437–8: *Swylce hī mē geblēndon bittre tōsomne unswētnē drync*, — a paraphrase of *Matt.* XXVII, 34.

34. **dr̥yas**. The word is of Celtic origin. Holder, *Alt-Celt. Sprachschatz*, col. 1321, derives it from the intensive prefix *dru*, + *wid-s*, from the root meaning

‘know.’ The whole compound would mean therefore primarily ‘the very wise,’ by extension ‘priests.’ The word was probably acquired by the Anglo-Saxons from the Irish missionaries in Northumbria, and, as the designation of the priests of a non-Christian religion, it was given an evil signification. As we should expect, the word and its compound appear in Anglo-Saxon only in the later Christian literature. Cf. 6, note; 765–766, note; and see *NED*. s.v. *druid*.

35–39. Cf. the similar situation in *Dan*. 569–574:

ond ðec winelēasne on wræc sendeð  
 ond þonne onhweorfeð heortan þine,  
 þæt þū ne gemyndgast æfter mandrēame  
 ne gewittes wāst būtan wildēora þēaw,  
 ac þū lifgende lange þrāge  
 heorta hlȳpum geond holt wunast.

36. **heortan on hreðre**. Reading *heortan hreðre* (*hreðre* inst. sg.), Grein, *Dicht.*, translates ‘der das Bewusstsein der Männer wandte im Busen, die innersten Gedanken.’ **Heortan** is plainly appositive to **ingeþanc** and **gewit**, and the idiom requires a preposition to govern **hreðre**; cf. *An*. 69<sup>b</sup>, 892–3; *Chr*. 640–641: **þām þe deorc gewit hæfdon on hreþre, heortan stænne**. In l. 36<sup>a</sup> **on** has evidently fallen out through its similarity in sound to the final syllable of **heortan**. — Perhaps 36<sup>b</sup> should be placed within parentheses; see 764<sup>b</sup>, note.

38. **heorogrædige**. Appositive to **hīe**, 37<sup>a</sup>, though the epithet seems more appropriate to the Mermedonians than to their victims.

39. Cf. *El*. 612; 698: **mēðe** and **metelēas**. The unumlauted form **-leaste** instead of **-lēste**, here and in 1157, is analogical to adj. forms in **-lēas**; cf. also **nēadcofan**, 1309.

40–41<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El*. 273<sup>b</sup>–274: **cwōmon in þā ceastre corðra mæste**; *El*. 1203<sup>b</sup>–1204<sup>a</sup>; **tō þære hālgan byrig, cuman in þā ceastre**. With 40<sup>b</sup> cf. 287<sup>b</sup>, 973<sup>b</sup>, and 227<sup>b</sup>, of Heaven; *Chr*. 1007, **on þone mæran beorg**, of the New Jerusalem.

42. **Mermedonia**. For the forms of this name and its identification, see *Introd.* p. lxvi. — **hlōð**. See 992, note.

43. **fordēnera gedræg**. The word *gedræg*, *gedreag*, usually ‘tumult, outcry,’ is also used of the ocean, *ofer dēop gedreag*, *Rid.* VII, 10, apparently in the sense of ‘wide extent,’ and, as here, is used in phrases indicating large numbers; cf. *Beow.* 756: **sēcan dēofla gedræg**; *Wife’s Complaint*, 45: **sinsorgna gedreag**. For a third use of the word, see 1555, note. — The umlauted forms of the participle of *dōn*, found only in *Chr*. 1207, 1266, and the present passage, are, according to Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 299), undoubted survivals from an original Northumbrian text.

45<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1626: **ēodon him þā tōgēanæs**, of Beowulf after his return from the fight with Grendel’s mother.

46<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps to be enclosed within parentheses; see 764<sup>b</sup>, note.

49. **fēondes cræfte**. So 1196, 1294. Cf. *Gen.* 492: **dēofles craft**; and, for examples of both phrases, see B.-T., p. 168. The word ‘craft’ has not in Anglo-Saxon specifically evil meaning (cf. 327, 484, etc.).

50. **hellfūse**. *Chr.* 1123 is the only other occurrence of this word. — **segl**. For other forms of the word, see 89<sup>b</sup>; 1246<sup>a</sup>; 1456<sup>b</sup>. The word appears also, as

simplex and in compounds, in the form *sigel* (Sievers, *PBB.* X, 507). Note the proper name *Sigelwaras* = Ethiopians, *Ap.* 64, *Ex.* 69, etc. For the figure of the eye as the sun of the head, cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, Cap. 69, *SnE.* I, 538–539, where the poetic names of the eyes are given as the sun or moon, shields, glass, gems, or jewels, of the brows or eyelashes. See 31, note.

51. *ābrēoton*. The form of the verb is probably due to confusion with the verbs of the reduplicating class; see *Gram.*, § 384, 2, and Bright, *MLN.* II, 80. See 640, note. — *mid billes ecge*. Cf. *Beow.* 2485: *billes ecgum*; *ibid.* 2508 = *billes ecg*.

51–53. According to the *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 66, ll. 9–14) Andrew drinks the magic brew which the Mermedonians prepare for him, but his reason is not affected by it and he therefore refuses to eat the hay which they place beside him, but continues praising God as before. The version of this incident in the *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 15–18, is confused: *ond hīe him sealdon āttor drincan, and hine sendon on carcerne, and hīe hine hēton þæt āttor etan, and hē hit etan nolde for þon his heorte næs tōlēsed, nē his mōd onwended.*

52. Cf. *Jul.* 239: *herede æt heorten heofonrīces god*. Professor Hart calls attention to *Cadmon's Hymn* 1: *Nū scylun hergan hefænricæs uard*.

54. *onmōd*. Cf. 1638, and *anræd*, 232, 983. The two words are formed (Sievers, *Zacher's Zs.* XXI, 362) in the same manner as *ofermōd*, and *mean*, primarily, 'having the attention turned in a certain direction or against something'; then in a good sense, 'eager, resolute, bold,' or with more emphatic value, 'angry, enraged' (cf. *Dan.* 224, *anmōd*; *Beow.* 1576, *anræd*, both appositive to *yrre*). Note also *anmēdla*, *onmēdla*, 'pride,' *Dan.* 748; *Chr.* 814, etc., where the word has developed in a pejorative direction. *Onmōd*, *anmōd* is to be distinguished from *ānmōd*; cf. l. 1565, note. Cf. *Gu.* 717; *ēadig ond onmōd*.

55<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 806<sup>a</sup>.

56. *hālgan stefne*. The construction weak adj. + noun, in the instrumental case, is found frequently throughout Anglo-Saxon verse in certain traditional phrases: the form *hālgan stefne* occurs five times in *An.*, and cf. *beorhtan gēomran*, *hlūdan*, *nīwan stefne*; *sārgan reorde*; *hātan heolfre* (2), *heað wælme*; *blācan līge*; *þriddan sīðe*; see Glossary for citations. In similar phrases the strong form of the adj. is found in *brante cēole*; *corðre mycle* (2); *hēa hornscipe*; *oððre sīðe* (4); *mīne gefrege*. In other than instrumental phrases the weak inflection of the adj., in constructions of adj. + noun, is found as follows: gen. sg., *ēcan dryhtnes*, 721; dat. sg., *bestēmdon*, 487; *hālgan hēape*, *Ap.* 9; *wintercealdan niht*, 1265; and in the prepositional phrases, *wīdan fēore* (3 times); *tō wīdan aldre* (2 times); *tō fāgeran gefēan*, 1693, and cf. 598; *under nīflan næs*, 1305; *on swā nīowan gefēan*, 1670. See Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 327 ff., for arguments (not altogether valid) as to chronology drawn from the use of these constructions.

57–58. Cf. *Jul.* 233: *tō carcerne*. *Hyre wæs Crīstes lof in ferþlocan fæste biwunden*. Note also *An.* 1671.

59. Cf. *Chr.* 992: *wēpað wānende wērgum stefnum*.

61<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Metr.* I, 84: *gēomran stemne*.

62<sup>a</sup>. *So* 1282; *El.* 814; *Ph.* 465. — 62<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlix.

**63. hū.** Introducing exclamatory rhetorical questions, *hū* is not infrequently found, e.g. *Wand.* 95: *hū sēo þrāg gewāt*; *Chr.* 362: *hū wē sind geswencte þurh ūre sylfra gewill*, etc. It occurs also as simple interjection, equivalent to *hwæt*, in *Ap.* 91; *Chr.* 1459: *Hū þær wæs unefen racu unc gemæne!*; and, in conjunction with *eala*, *Höl.* 75: *Ēalā Gabrihel hū þū eart glēaw and scearp*. See also *Höl.* 84, 100, 104; *Chr.* 216, 278, etc. In these instances *ēalā* and *hū* are to be taken together as constituting the interjectional phrase, similar to the phrase *ēalā hwæt*, *Chr.* 416; *Sat.* 316; *Metr.* IV, 25, *Metr.* VIII, 55. For the use of *hū* as interjection in the prose, see Wülfing, II, 694.

**64. sēowað.** Gm., noting *Beow.* 406, translates 'consuunt.' He remarks, however, that *seoðað* = 'coquunt' might possibly apply to the welding of fetters. K. follows Gm.'s first reading; Gn. *Spr.* II, 437, B., and W. *Nachträge*, p. 208, his second interpretation. But no justification for the meaning *seoðan* = 'seethe, boil' = 'weld, fashion, devise,' as accepted by Gn., W., and B., can be found from the other metaphorical uses of the word in Anglo-Saxon. In *Beow.* 190 and 1993 the word is used transitively with *mælceare*, *mōdceare*, respectively, as objects, and it means 'to be troubled about, to brood over.' The participle *soden* appears in *Gu.* 1046, 1236 (with inst. *sorgwylmum*), 1123 (with inst. *sār wylmum*), and in *An.* 1239 (with inst. *sārbennum*); in all these passages it means 'troubled, afflicted.' On the other hand, the dependence of 64<sup>a</sup> upon *Beow.* 406<sup>a</sup>, *searonet seowed*, is evident; in both passages the word means 'weave, knit.' For a similar figure, cf. 672<sup>a</sup>, *wrōht webbade*. The MS. reading *seoðað* (= *seoþað*) might easily arise from the misreading of *w* for *þ*; a similar scribal error probably explains the MS. form *wæs* for *þæs* in 145<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Icel. *skyrta hamri sqð*, 'a shirt sewed with the hammer,' 'hammer-knit' (Cleas.-Vig., p. 518).

**65-66.** Cf. *El.* 267-268: *þēodnes willan, georn on mōde*.

**66. ðurh geohða.** 'Now with sorrow.' Cosijn (followed by Simons, p. 49) would read *gēahð*, 'foolishness, mockery' (anticipating *dumban*, 67<sup>b</sup>), a plausible but not a necessary change.

**67.** See 38<sup>b</sup>-39.

**70. sīe.** Here monosyllabic (Siev., *PBB.* X, 478), and so regularly in *Andreas*, except 417<sup>a</sup>.

**70-71.** Cf. *El.* 773-774: *gif þīn willa sīe, wealdend engla, þæt*, etc.; 789, *gif hit sīe willa þīn*.

**72. sweordum āswebban.** So *Ap.* 69<sup>b</sup>; *Beow.* 567, 679. — Cf. *Beow.* 1825: *ic bēo gearo sōna*.

**74. ēðellēasum.** The pronominal object is implied in the adjective.

**76-78.** Concerning the restoration of Matthew's sight, see 91, note.

**78. æfter billhete.** This is the only recorded occurrence of *billhete*, defined by Grein, *Spr.* I, 117, 'odium ope ensium manifestatum'; by B.-T., 'the hate of swords.' Cf. *ecghete*, *cumbolhete*, with meaning similar to that of *billhete*. In the present passage the word may have allusion to the way Matthew's eyes were put out; or it may have been coined merely for the *rime* (Bright).

**81. tō ānum þē.** Cf. *Ps.* LXXXVI, 6: *on ānum þē*.

**82.** Cf. *Jul.* 221: *ic tō Dryhtne mīn mōd stabelige*.

**85. scyldhetum.** The only occurrence of this as well as the parallel compound, *nīðhetum*, 834. The value of *hete* in compounds is otherwise that of an abstract noun, 'hate.' Gm., p. 98, suggests, and Simons, p. 119, would read here, *-hatum*, in order to make the form agree with the form *scyldhata*, 1047, 1147; but the compound *nīðhetum* speaks decisively against the change. See 1047, note.

**86. wērigum wrōhtsmiðum.** Cf. *grynsmið*, 917, *lārsmið*, 1220. The existence of such compounds in Anglo-Saxon, in which, however, the second element has become generalized in meaning, is an indication of the dignified position of the smith in early Teutonic society. Compare also the conception of Weland as smith, which was not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, as we learn from *Beow.* 455, *Deor* 1, and *Wald.* 2. Similar compounds in other Teutonic languages are mentioned by Kluge, *PBB.* X, 440.

**86<sup>b</sup>–87.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 67: *καὶ μὴ παραδώσεις με τῷ θανάτῳ τῷ πικρῷ τούτῳ.* *Legend*, p. 114: *nē mē ne sele on þone bitterestan dēaþ.*

**88. wuldres tācen.** Grein, *Spr.* II, 520, and Simons, p. 134, would supply *sancta crux*, 'the sign of the cross,' as completing the meaning, making *wuldres tācen* thus equivalent to the *sigores tācen* of *El.* 88 and elsewhere. But cf. *Ph.* 96: *torht tācen Godes*, appositive to *Godes condelle*, l. 91; *Gu.* 1266: *oðbæt ēastan cwōm ofer dēop gelād dægredwōma, wedertācen wearm.* Note also Bonnet, p. 67: *Ταῦτα δὲ προσευχομένου τοῦ Ματθεῖα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἔλαμψεν φῶς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φωνὴ λέγουσα,* and *Legend*, p. 114, l. 9: *mycel lēoht ond beorht onlēohte þæt carcern, and Drihtnes stefn wæs geworden tō him on þæm lēohte.*

**89. hādre.** One expects *hādor* as in 1456. But we may take *hādre* (with Barnouw, p. 146) as weak nom.; the construction may carry with it a specific or demonstrative value (cf. note on *tācen*, l. 88), and it is so translated by Grein *Dicht.*, Root, and Hall: 'like the bright sun.' Kemble, however, makes it indefinite, 'like a serene star.' One might almost suppose that *hādre*, the adverbial form, is a recollection of the model for this passage:

'ðā cwōm lēohta mæst  
hālig of heofonum hādre scīnan.'

*Gu.* 1256–1257.

— **segl.** This spelling is supported by 50, *sægl* by 1456. No other example of *ε* for *æ* occurs in the MS.; but *æ* for *ε* occurs 582, *-wæge*; 495, *stæfnan*.

**91. helpe gefremede.** Nothing is said here to show that Matthew's sight (cf. 51, 77) is restored to him; both the Greek and the *Legend*, however, are specific: Bonnet, p. 67, *παράσχον οὖν μοι κύριε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου*, and later, *καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψεν*; *Legend*, p. 114, l. 4: *forgife mīnra ēagna lēoht*; and l. 12: *Mathēus þa lōciende hē geseah Drihten Crīst.* In the passage corresponding to 143 ff., when the Mermedonians come to Matthew in prison, the Greek and the *Legend* state that he closed his eyes in order that they might not perceive that his sight had been restored. Heinzel, "Ueber den Stil der altgerm. Poesie," *Quellen und Forsch.* X, 43, notes this passage as characteristic of Cynewulf's proneness to omit even necessary steps in the progress of a narrative.

**92–93.** Similar phrasing occurs in ll. 1429–1430; and cf. *Jul.* 282–283: *Hyre stefn oncwæþ wlitig of wolcnum, word hlēoðrade.*



94. **maguþegne**. Of the 14 occurrences of this compound in Anglo-Saxon verse, 6 are found in *Beowulf*, 5 in *Andreas*, and the remaining three as follows: *Wand.* 62, *Men.* 82, *Jud.* 236. Of the five occurrences in *Andreas* 4 refer, as in the present passage, to the servants of the Lord; in the remaining passage, 1140, the epithet, with epic impartiality, is used of the heathen Mermedonians.

95. **under hearmlocan**. So *El.* 695.

99. **ic þē mid wunige**. Cf. 101, 945, 1218, and *Chr.* 478, 488, for similar phrasing.

100. Th. and K. place of **þyssum** in the first half-line; but cf. 112. — **leoðu-bendum**. The compound occurs five times in *An.*, but elsewhere only *Gen.* 382.

102. **neorxnawang**. An ingenious explanation of this difficult word is that offered by Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 254 (Oct. 19, 1889). He regards it as a contraction of a fuller form, \**nēorohsna wang*, the Gothic equivalent of which would be \**nawi-rōhsnē-waggs*, 'the field of the palaces of the dead.' With the first element, *nawi*-, he compares Anglo-Saxon *nēo*-, as in *nēobed*, *nēosið*, etc., and with the general conception, *wælheal*, 'Valhalla.' A more probable etymology is that of Reinius, *Anglia* XIX, 554-556, who derives the first element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon form \**ne werksan*, 'not working, not suffering'; the whole compound would thus mean 'the plain or field of the idle.'

104<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Doomsday* 24: *ne noht hyhtlic hām*; *Sat.* 138: *ne mōt ic hihtlicran hāmes brūcan*. In both passages, as in *Andreas*, the allusion is to the heavenly home. — 104<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 284, 1189: *hālgum meahtum*.

105. Cf. 1611; *Chr.* 1673: *ond wuldres lēoht torht ontȳned*; *Sat.* 556: *ūs is wuldres lēoht torht ontȳned*; *Sat.* 593-594: *þær is wuldres blēd torht ontȳned*; *Gu.* 457-458: *wæs mē swegles lēoht torht ontȳned*. Gn. and W. have only a comma after *ontȳned*.

106. **tō wīdan fēore**. Also 810, 1452; *El.* 211, 1321; *Beow.* 933. Cf. *tō wīdan aldre*, 938, 1721; *wīdan feorh*, 1383, also *El.* 760, 800, *Beow.* 2014.

107. **þrāh**. Final *g* appears as *h*, in *Andreas*, in *burh*, *ādrēah*, *gelāh*, *āstāh*, and the present instance; see *Gram.*, § 214, 1, and cf. 769<sup>b</sup>, note.

109. **synnige**. I quote from my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 404: 'Reading *synne* with the MS. and editors, Grein, *Spr.* II, 518, glosses the word as inst. sg.(?) of *syn*, "evil," "wickedness"; Simons, p. 124, glosses the form as a reflexive pronoun, but he gives no further clue as to his interpretation of the passage. The translations treat the word as an adverb. But the improbable inst. sg. *synne* is clearly to be corrected to the adjective form *synnge* [or *synnige*], appositive to *wærlogan*, 108<sup>a</sup>, to accord with the usual phrasing as found in 565<sup>b</sup>, 710<sup>a</sup>, 964<sup>b</sup>; cf. also 921<sup>a</sup>. The MS. has regularly the unsyncopated forms in this word; the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written.'

111<sup>a</sup>. So 567; *Chr.* 1197.

113. **tælmēt**. The only occurrence of the word; *tælmearc* occurs once, *Gu.* 849.

114. **seofon ond twēntig**. The chronology is consistent and follows the sources; cf. *Legend*, p. 114, l. 18: *ac onbīd hēr seofon and twēntig nihta*. The Mermedonians hold a meeting every thirty days (l. 157) and at the end of thirty



days Matthew is to be put to death; after twenty-seven days, however (**fore þrēo niht**, 185), Andrew is to set out to rescue him from this fate. Cf. also 148, 930.

**115. nihtgerīmes.** The term commonly used by the Anglo-Saxons in reckoning a period of time was *niht*, not *dæg*; for examples in *Andreas*, see Glossary, and cf. 114, note. Tacitus (*Germania* 11) mentions this custom among the Germans of the Continent: 'Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant'; and he adds: 'Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur.' Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI, 18) records the same custom among the Gauls: 'Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt.' And he also adds: 'dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur.' This custom of reckoning the night with the day which followed it also obtained among the Anglo-Saxons; cf. Anglo-Saxon *frigeæfen* = Thursday evening, *frigeniht* = the night preceding Friday (see Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *fasten*). Sunday, according to the Wulfstan homilist, should be observed 'from nōntīde þæs sæterndæges oð mōnandæges lihtincge' (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dæg-Mæl," *Pub. of the MLA*. X, 134), *nōntīde* being the ninth hour counting from sunrise. This custom has left its traces in the Mod. Eng. phrases 'Hallowe'en,' 'New Year's Eve,' 'Christmas Eve,' etc. The custom of reckoning time by nights instead of days survives in the phrases 'fortnight,' 'sennight,' 'Twelfth Night.' See further Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 845, and Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 753.

**116.** Cf. *Gu.* 1110: *sārum* geswenced; *Beow.* 975: *synnum* geswenced. — All Edd. have a comma after *geswenced*; B. and K. put a comma after *gewyrðod* also, but the other Edd. have no punctuation here. Gn.<sup>2</sup> removes the comma after *geswenced*, adds one after *gewyrðod*, and supplies *wesan* as completing the sense. On the omission of *wesan*, cf. 1393, note. — Cf. *Jud.* 299: *sigore geweorðod*.

**118<sup>a</sup>.** Also 225<sup>a</sup>.

**120. on riht.** Simons, p. 110, forms an adj. compound *onriht* = 'wahr, echt,' following Gn., who translates, *Dicht.*, 'er ist ein rechter König.' But the words, metrically, do not have the stress of an adj. compound; cf., besides the other passages in *An.*, *Chr.* 267: *mōte ārisan ond on ryht cuman*; and *Ex.* 586: *rēaf ond randas, heom on riht scēode*.

**123<sup>a</sup>.** So 1303; *Gen.* 1555, 1886; *Beow.* 1789, 2594; *El.* 1060, 1127. — *nihthelm tōglād*. Also *El.* 78; cf. 1305. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 753, noting these passages, says: 'to her [i.e. Night], as a goddess, is ascribed, quite in the spirit of our olden time, a terrible and fearful *helmet*, like a cloak-of-darkness.' But the passages hardly justify the specific picture. *Helm* is probably used in these compounds in the general sense of 'covering.'

**123-128.** For other examples of the figure of asyndeton in *Andreas*, see ll. 370 ff.; 391 ff.; 1545 ff.

**125. dægrēdwōma.** The two elements of this word occur separately. *Dægrēd* (OHG. *tagar-at*, *-ot*, Icel. *dagrað*, cf. Noreen, *Abriss der indogerm. Lautlehre*, p. 196) was, in the Anglo-Saxon period, a technical term for one of the periods of the day. The Anglo-Saxon night was divided into seven parts, the seven<sup>th</sup>

part coming just before *dægrēd*, *dægrēd* itself being succeeded by *sunnan ūpgang* (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dægmæl," *Pub. of MLA.* X, 126). It was also the period, as we learn from the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Tupper, p. 154), when the husbandman went to the fields: '(Arator): Eala lēof, þearle ic deorfe; ic gā ūt on dægrēd (diluculo), þýwende oxon to felda.' In later English the word, through a process of popular etymologizing, was supposed to be made up of the elements 'day' and 'red,' 'the red of the break of day,' 'the rosy dawn' (cf. *NED.* s.v. *day-red*). The second element of the compound, *wōma*, in its other occurrences, both as simplex and in compounds, has the meaning 'tumult,' 'alarm,' at times 'terror'; cf. 1355; and *Chr.* 834, 998, *heofonwōma* (tr. Cook, *Christ*, p. 259, 'sound from heaven,' 'thunder(?)'). The two elements combined seem to mean, therefore, 'the rush or tumult of the dawn'; Brooke, p. 414, 'the trumpet sound of the dawn.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 720 ff., gathers together a great number of illustrations showing how wide-spread was the belief that ascribed noise or clang to the rising and setting of the sun, and explains the belief by supposing the existence in the popular mind of 'a deep affinity between the notions of light and sound, of colors and tones.' Wotan himself, he points out (p. 745), is called Wuomo, Wōma; and in this name and such words as *dægrēdwōma*, he sees the survivals of an original nature-myth, according to which the dawn was an actual living person.

125<sup>b</sup>-133<sup>b</sup>. The Edd. vary widely in the punctuation of these lines. After *samnade*, 125<sup>b</sup>, W. has a colon, all other Edd. a comma; after *hildfreca*n, 126<sup>a</sup>, K. and B. have a comma, the other Edd. no punctuation. Gn., B., and Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 8), enclose l. 127 within parentheses, thus making *hrysedon*, 127<sup>b</sup>, intransitive, and uniting *bolgenmōde*, 128<sup>a</sup>, to *hildfreca*n, 126<sup>a</sup>. After *bordhrēoðan*, 128<sup>b</sup>, Gm. has no punctuation, all other Edd. a period or colon; after *wunedon*, 131<sup>b</sup>, Gm. and K. a semicolon, all other Edd. a comma; after *berædan*, 133<sup>b</sup>, Gm. and K. a question-mark, all other Edd. a period. *Woldon cunnian*, 129<sup>a</sup>, has two objects, (1) the clause *hwæðer . . . wunedon*, and (2) *hwylcne . . . berædan*.

127. *gāras hrysedon*. Kemble, 'they brandished their javelins.' But the passage here is an evident reminiscence from *Beowulf*, the only other occurrence of the word *hrysan* in the heroic poetry: *syrca*n hrysedon, *gūðgewædo*, *Beow.* 226-227. Translate as intransitive, 'rattle'; Grein, *Dicht.*, 'die Kampfspeere rauschten.' Cf. *Beow.* 327: *byrnan hringdon*.

128<sup>b</sup>. So also *Beow.* 2203.

130. Cf. 1378; 1560; *Chr.* 734-735: *þær hē gēn ligeð in carcerne clommum gefæstnad*.

133<sup>a</sup>. Also *El.* 1034, 1268; *Ph.* 223. The period was thirty days (cf. 114, note). — 133<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 498: *fēore beræddon*.

135. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *καὶ προσέδεναν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ τάβλαν, ἵνα γυνῶσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν*. Note also 149, 157. These details are omitted in the *Legend*.

136. *hwæenne*. Also 400; cf. *Gram.*, § 65, and note 2.

138. *caldheorte*. The only occurrence of the epithet in Anglo-Saxon. — *corðor oðrum getang*. For other examples of this stylistic device of using *oðer*

instead of repeating the noun, cf. 443; *El.* 233; *Fæd.* 6; *Beow.* 653, 870, 2484, 2985. See 360<sup>a</sup>, note.

139. After *ræsboran* Gm. and W. have no mark of punctuation, the other Edd. a semicolon. — Cf. *Chr.* 706: *sōþes ne giemdon.*

140. *hira mōd.* Cf. 454: *ūre mōd* = 'we'; 1242: *þæt æðele mōd* = 'he.' Other examples are *El.* 597; *Jul.* 26, 209; *Gu.* 711.

141. *dēofles lārum.* 'Through or by the instruction, counsel of the devil.' The phrase is a common one with *Wulfstan*: *judeisc folc þurh dēofles lāre hine forrædde* (ed. Napier, p. 17, l. 19); *eal mancyn wæs þurh dēofles lāre ær þām beswicen* (p. 22, l. 1).

142. *eaueðum.* The late writing *u* for *f* occurs only in this word in the MS. of *Andreas*, but the use is sporadic throughout the Anglo-Saxon period; cf. *Gram.*, § 194.

143. *glāwne.* This spelling is supported by *gelāh*, 1074.

145. *þæs.* Lohmann (*Anglia* III, 126), accepting the emendation *hwæs* for the MS. *wæs*, cites *hwæs* in this passage as the sole example of the interrogative used as relative pronoun. Zupitza (*Anglia* III, 369), retaining *hwæs*, regards the form as interrogative, and the clause which it introduces as a dependent question, not a relative clause. But the right reading here is undoubtedly *þæs*, the first letter of which was miswritten *w*; cf. 64, note.

146<sup>a</sup>. So *Sat.* 21, 239, 659; *Hy.* V, 6; *Ap.* 28.

147. *frumrædenne.* The only occurrence of the word. *Dicht.*, 'die Frist der Vorbestimmung'; K., 'Then was the space expired of the predestined time'; Root, 'Then was accomplished . . . The appointed time, the season fore-ordained.'

148. *þinggemearces.* Cf. 157, note.

149. Cf. 135, note.

150. Cf. *Beow.* 1567: *bānhringas bræc.*

151. Cf. 1472; *Beow.* 1630: *lungre ðlȳsed*, of the armor of *Beowulf*.

152. *duguðe ond geogoðe.* Also 1122, and *Beow.* 160, 621, 1674. The two occurrences of the phrase in *Andreas* are in passages of similar context, and both refer to the Mermedonians. The phrase is, however, a dignified, heroic one, and means the body of warriors, young and old; see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 263–264. As it is used in *Andreas* it perhaps has weakened and become generalized into the sense merely of 'every one,' 'one and all.'

154. Cf. *Beow.* 1568: *fægne flæschoman.*

154<sup>b</sup>–156. Cf. the similar phrasing 1227<sup>b</sup>–1228.

157–158<sup>a</sup>. 'After every thirty days'; cf. *Mald.* 271: *æfre embe stunde*; *Chron.* 1137: *æure um wile*, 'every little while'; *Metr.* XXVIII, 28–30:

ðer steorra    cymeð efne swā same  
on þone ilcan stede    eft ymb ðritig  
gēargerīmes.

157. *þing gehēdon.* Cf. 930; *Beow.* 425–426: *āna gehēgan ðing wið þyrse*; *Ex. Gn.* 18–19: *þing sceal gehēgan frōd wiþ frōdne.* Note also *mæðel gehēgan*, 1049, 1496, and *seonað gehēgan*, *Ph.* 493. The phrase is a conventional term in Anglo-Saxon for holding a parliament or meeting, but it is found only in the verse and is not

used in the prose of the meetings of the *arinn*. But the same phrase was, and is still, used in Iceland of the meeting of deliberative or legislative bodies; cf. Cleas-Vig., p. 260, *heyja þing*, 'to hold a parliament.' The word *þing*, according to Mayhew, *Academy* XXXVI, 138 (Aug. 31, 1889), is cognate with Gothic *þeins*, 'time,' the form *þing* being derived by grammatical change, and means 'a meeting held at an appointed time.' This derivation is also given by Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways*, p. 236: 'The word is thought to be cognate with Latin *tempus*, "the (fitting) time," "the right moment." If so, we may feel confident that the oldest sense at which we can arrive in English is "that which is agreed upon as fitting."' The word *þinggemearces*, which occurs only twice, *Am.* 148 and *El.* 3, certainly refers to time, and thus bears out the above derivation. This etymology has been questioned, however, by F. A. Wood, *MLN.* XIX, 1. In discussing the base *\*te(n)go*, which appears in the meaning 'stretch,' 'lengthen,' 'grow,' 'become strong,' and (what seems to be the opposite meaning) 'draw together,' 'contract,' 'make compact,' he says: 'Here belong OE. *þing*, OHG. *ding*, pre-Germ. *tenqó-m*, "a drawing together," "contract," "compact," etc. The meaning "draw together" is apparent in OE. *þingian*, "settle," "reconcile," "arrange," "intercede," "plead."' But Professor Wood's semasiological grouping is not convincing.

158. Gm. has only a comma after *nihtgerimes*, all other Edd. a colon or semicolon. — *nēod*. The sense here is 'desire,' as in *Ph.* 189–191:

'bið him nēod micel

þæt hē þā yldu ofestum mōte

þurh gewittes wylm wendan to life.'

B.T., p. 714, quotes the same phrase in OS.: 'was im niud mikil that sie selbon Krist gisehan mostin,' 'they desired eagerly to see Christ.' Cf. 1166<sup>b</sup>, note.

164. *oft his lufan ādræg*. The MS. *of*, 'for the sake of' (as given by the translators), has not the support of other examples; cf. 431<sup>a</sup>. The emendation is supported by *Gu.* 63: *sē nāfre þā lēan ālegeð þām þe his lufan ādrēogeð*. *Ādrēogan* is always used transitively in *Andreas*. For other examples of the verb in an active sense, cf. *Gu.* 86<sup>b</sup>: *gewin drugon*; *Sat.* 254<sup>b</sup>–255: *þis is idel gylp þæt wē ær drugon ealle hwile*; Wulfstan (ed. Napier, p. 28, ll. 1–3): *þæt [heofona rice] ēow is gegearwod tō ēcan edlēane ēowres geswines, þe gē for minum lufan ær on worulde ādrugan*. For a similar differentiation in meaning, cf. *ræfnan* = 'to do, perform,' and 'to endure, suffer.' Cf. 1380, note.

165–167. See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

166. *galdorcraeftum*. The first element of the compound means literally 'sound,' 'song,' then 'incantation,' 'magic incantation'; cf. *Beow.* 3052: *guldre bewunden*, 'protected by a spell,' of the treasure-hoard of the dragon. The word appears here to be generalized to the meaning merely of things evil or wicked; cf. 6, note; 34, note; 765–766, note.

167<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 875. — *sīo*. Hall, p. 67: 'The article in line 167 is treated as definite by Grein, but we have always felt that it had the indefinite value.' Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 349, notices this passage but gives no further examples of the definite form with indefinite value. It seems best, however, to take *sīo* as Sievers does (*PBB.* XII, 192), not as indefinite, or as referring to the voice of the Lord, but to the voice of Andrew: 'then from the heavens

[i.e. in heaven by the Lord] his voice was heard, where the saintly man Andrew, in Achaia, was.' Cf. 1074: *him sēo wēn gelāh*, 'his hope deceived him.'

170. Cf. *Ap.* 31; *Dom.* 47: *lēode lēran*.

171. *cirebaldum*. The only occurrence of the word. The emendation *cynēbaldum* is based on the emended reading *cynēbalde* for the MS. *cyningbalde*, *Beow.* 1634; *cynē-* or *cyningbalde* occurs only in this passage. But cf. the compounds *cynērōf*, *cynegōd*. *Spr.* I, 180, glosses *cyrebeald* = 'strenuus arbitrii'; B.-T., 'bold in decision'; Sweet, *Dict.*, does not give the form *cirebald*. *Dicht.* translates: 'gegen den Kühnen da'; K., contrary to his text, 'to him royally bold'; Root, 'to him, that steadfast saint'; Hall, 'to him bold in decision.'

174. *ferð lēdan*. Cf. 282, 430, and 337, note. Cf. also 216.

177. Cf. 25<sup>b</sup>, note.

179<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 1130<sup>b</sup>; and *Jul.* 191–192: *gēn ic fēores þē unnan wille*.

180–181<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 6–7: *syþþan ærest wearþ fēasceaft funderl*.

184<sup>b</sup>. So also 1038, 1357; *Jul.* 535, 625.

185. *fore*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *ἐτι γὰρ τρεῖς ἡμέραι*. Note also 114. The *Legend*, p. 114, ll. 9–10, reads: 'and *ālæd þanon Mathēum þinne brōþor of þæm carce rne*, for *þon þe nū gīt þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon, þæt hīe,*' etc. The probable word in the hypothetical Latin original which *fore* translates is *adhuc*. It seems best to take it here as an adverb, not as Grein, *Spr.* I, 321, does, as a temporal preposition governing *niht*. The suggestion *ofer*, of Cosijn and Simons, does not suit the context; *ofer* means 'past,' 'gone by,' but twenty-seven days have gone by, not three, according to the narrative.

187. *gāst onsendan*. See 1326–1327, and note.

190. *ofer dēop gelād*. So *Chr.* 856; *Gu.* 1266.

193. *swā ðū worde becwist*. Cf. 210, 304, 418.

194–195. The Edd. put no punctuation after *gefēran*, but a comma or an exclamation point after *heofenum*, except Kemble, who punctuates as in the text. Since *con* must go metrically in the first half-line, no punctuation after *heofenum* is permissible.

194. *ēað*. Here, as in 368<sup>a</sup>, evidently comparative. The form *ēað*, as positive of the adv., recorded in *Spr.* I, 253, and B.-T., 236, is derived from the above mentioned passages and *Gen.* 2058 and *Gu.* 528. But *Gen.* 2058 demands metrically *ēaðe*, and also the positive degree; *ēað* for *Gu.* 528 rests upon a false MS. reading, the MS. having *ēaðe* (cf. *Bibl.* III, 71). The only authentic passages for *ēað* are consequently these two in *Andreas*, both of which are comparative.

195<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 112, *Metr.* XI, 30: *heofon ond eorðan ond (eall) holma begon*.

197. *waroðfaruða*. For similar riming compounds, e.g. *wordhord*, *eardgear*, etc., see Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 423. See 236, note.

198. *wēgas ofer wīdland*. Cf. my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 405: 'All the editors read *wīd land* with the MS.; Grein, however (*Germ.* X, 423), changes to *wīdland*. The whole phrase as understood by the editors and translators is out of keeping with the rest of the passage. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates: "die Wege über weit Lande"; Kemble, "ways over wide land"; Root, "the tracks across the boundless land"; Hall, "the ways o'er the wide-lands." But the word is appositive to an amplifies the *sæstrēamas*, *waroðfaruða gewinn*, and *wæterbrōgan* of the preceding

lines, and can hardly mean "roadways on the dry land." It will be noticed also that in the succeeding lines, though the word *herestræta* occurs, it is limited by the phrase *ofer cald wæter*; the whole passage is consequently descriptive of journeyings by water.

'The right understanding of the passage is dependent on the meaning of *wīdland*. As a compound this word is of frequent occurrence and means: (1) "dry land, terra firma," as distinguished from the ocean (cf. *Gen.* 1538: *wæter ofer wīdland*; and *Gen.* 155-156: *næron Metode þā gýt wīdlond ne wēgas nytte*); (2) "world, earth," in general (cf. *Chr.* 605: *welan ofer wīdlond*, "prosperity upon earth"). The second is the sense in which the word is used in the present passage. Again, *wēgas*, appositive to *sāstrēamas*, is the same word as *wēgas* in *Gen.* 156, nom. pl. of *wæg*, "fluctus, unda, mare." The usual spelling of the word in the *Andreas* is *wæg*, as e.g. *wāges*, 632, *wāgas*, 373, etc.; but the spelling *wēg* is found in the gen. pl. *wēga*, 932. Read also *wēges weard*, *An.* 601, "ward of the wave," not *weges weard* (*Spr.* II, 655, Hall), "ward of the way." — Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 9) would read *weras* for *winas*, and remarks: 'Hätte Andreas sagen wollen, dass er dort keine "freunde" hatte, so wäre *þær* vor *winas* unerlässlich.' But all the passage means to say is 'These stranger earls are not my familiar friends'; Root, 'These foreign men are not my trusty friends.'

200. *herestræta*. Originally meaning, from the main purpose of roads, 'a highway or paved road along which an army could pass,' this word became generalized in the sense 'highway,' 'road.' The extent of this generalization may be seen from the fact that the word may even be applied to 'water-way.' For a similar development, cf. *here-*, *herpað*.

201. *ofer cald wæter*. So *Chr.* 851; *Mald.* 91; cf. 222, 253.

204. So 211; *El.* 219-220; cf. *Ap.* 34: *sīðes sǣne*.

206. *on foldwege*. 'On earth'; cf. *Chr.* 1528-1529:

ondweard ne mæg  
on þissum foldwege    fēond gebīdan.

Cf. 468, note, 501, note, for other examples of compounds in which the second element has lost its meaning.

208. *under swegles gang*. 'Beneath the circuit of the heavens,' 'on earth.' Cf. 455, 869. Cook, *Christ*, p. 179, notes *gyrus caeli*, *Eccles.* XXIV, 8; *meatus caeli*, Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 849; and *vias caeli*, *Georg.* II, 477. Cf. *Beow.* 860, 1773, *under swegles begong*.

210<sup>b</sup>. So 1715; *Chr.* 1197; *Jul.* 223.

211-214. The Lord admonishes Andrew in such terms as a Saxon leader might use in addressing his followers. Cf. 89-99; and *Wand.* 65-69:

Wita sceal geþyldig,  
ne sceal nō tō hātheort    nē tō hrædwyrde,  
nē tō wāc wiga    nē tō wanhȳdig,  
nē tō forht nē tō fægen    nē tō feohgīfre,  
nē nǣfre gielpes tō georn,    ær hē geare cunne.

215. Grimm has a comma after *wyrðan*, all other Edd. a semicolon or period.

217<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 951; *Jul.* 215: of *gramra gripe*.

221. *æt meres ende*. Cf. *Ex.* 128: *landes æt ende*; *Beow.* 224: *eoletes æt ende*; *Whale* 15: *sundes æt ende*. Note also *Jud.* 272: *þā wæs hyra tīres æt ende*, discussed by Shipley, p. 122.

223<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 244; cf. 513. The word *bæðweg* occurs also in *Ex.* 290. Cf. *fisces bæð*, 293; *ganotes bæð*, *Beow.* 1861; and Kipling, 'The Rowers':

They had no heart for the rally and roar,  
That makes the whale-bath smoke —

224. *mīne*. For similar word-order, cf. 479<sup>b</sup>.

225–229. An evident reminiscence of the homiletic style. See *Introd.*, p. lvii, and cf. 1686, note; *Ap.* 107–122, note.

226. *ūpengla fruma*. Cf. *Men.* 210: *ūpengla weard*.

227<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 647; cf. 978.

228–229. Cf. *Chr.* 1686–1687: *þider sōðfæstra sǣwla mōtun cuman æfter cwealme*; *Gu.* 762–763: *Swā sōðfæstra sǣwla mōtun in ēcne gearð ūp gestīgan*; *Gu.* 1066 and *Ph.* 645: *æfter līces hryre*.

230<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1312: *æðele cempa*, of Beowulf.

230–244<sup>a</sup>. This passage is translated into English blank verse by Brother Azarias, *Development of Old English Thought*, p. 137.

233<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 926. — 233<sup>b</sup>. *hildlata*. Not a weak adj. but a noun. The only other occurrence of the word is *Beow.* 2846.

234. *gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe*. Translate 'Ready, valiant in battle, for God's combat.' M., B., W., and K. in his translation, put a comma after *gūðe*, W. remarking that as *fram* is an adj. and does not modify *gūðe*, it should be separated from it by punctuation. To this Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) responds that W.'s punctuation does not sufficiently take into account the caesura of the line. He therefore holds *gearo* and *tō godes campe* together, *gūðe fram* (= *hildfram* = *nalas hildlata*) being regarded as a second phrase. Although close syntactical concord is frequently broken by the caesura (see the examples cited under 7, note), in a verse of this type,  $\times' \times \mid \_ \times \_$ , *gūðe fram* should have the value of a compound. Moreover (as Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., points out) the usual idioms are *gearo tō* . . . , as in 1369; *El.* 23: *gearwe tō gūðe*, etc., and *from*, followed or preceded by its dependent noun without preposition, as in *Rid.* LXIII, 2: *forðsīðes from*; *Rid.* LXXIII, 27: *fēringe from*.

235 ff. Brooke, p. 170, says of this passage: 'Andrew, now steadfast, sets forth with the rising of the day, and the description of his path to the sea has often recalled to me the approach to the seashore, over the dunes of sand near Bamborough.' He adds, p. 415: 'The very verse has the dash and salt of the waves in it, and the scenery is Northumbrian. No one can mistake it for that of an East Anglian or a Wessex shore.'

235. *on uhtan mid ærdæge*. So 1388; *Beow.* 126; *El.* 105.

236. *waruðe*. The appropriate word here is undoubtedly *waroð*, 'shore,' and not *faroð*, 'sea.' This reading is supported by 238<sup>a</sup>. On the confusion of *faroð* and *waroð* in Anglo-Saxon poetical texts, see my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 405–406.

237<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 267; cf. *Jul.* 358: *þriste geþoncge*; *El.* 1285: *þristra geþonca*.



**238. gangan.** Construe as infinitive after *gewāt*, not as Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 9), noting *Beow.* 1009: *þæt tō healle gang Healfdenes sunu*, suggests, preterit plural in *-an*, or as dependent on *gewitun* understood. L. 237<sup>b</sup> has syntactically the value only of a parenthetical or a prepositional phrase, and it is good idiom, in Modern English as well as Anglo-Saxon (see Sweet, *New English Grammar* II, 82–83), to make the verb agree only with the first subject when an additional subject is added as a tag; cf. *Beow.* 2341–2343: *Sceolde lāndaga æþeling ærgōd ende gebīdan . . . and se wyrm somod* (note also *Beow.* 431); *El.* 94–95: *þā þæt leoht gewāt, ūp sīðode, ond se ār somed, on clāenra gemang*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 9, ll. 1–4: *ac sōna swā dēofol ongeat þæt mann tō ðām gescapen wæs, þæt hē scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum þæt se dēofol forworhte ðurh his ofermōdignesse, þā wæs him þæt on myclan andan*; *Chronicle*, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 141: *Hēr on þissum gēar sende se cyng ond his witan tō ðām here*; *ibid.*, p. 143: *forðan ðær wæs inne se cyning Æþelred ond þurkil mid him.* — **grēote.** A favorite word in *Andreas* (7 times), occurring only once (*El.* 835) in all *Cynewulf*.

**240. wīdfæðme.** Cf. *Beow.* 302: *sīdfæðmed scip*; 1917: *sīdfæðme scip*. Bonnet, p. 69: *πλοῖάριον μικρόν*; *Legend*, p. 116: *hē geseah scip on þām waroðe*, but later, *hwider wille gē faran mid his medmiclum scipe*?

**242. bēacna beorhtost.** That is, the sun; Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) notes *Heliand* 545, where the phrase is used of the guiding star of the three kings. With *morgentorht* as compound adj., cf. *hefontorht*, 1018. Cf. *Beow.* 2777: *bēacna beorhtost* (of the *segn*, i.e. banner); *Chr.* 1085: *bēacna beorhtast* (of the cross).

**243.** After *heolstre*, Grimm, Kemble, and Wülker have no punctuation, Grein has a comma, Baskervill and Cook a semicolon. Since the construction changes here from *cōm* + infinitive to simple preterit, a semicolon seems necessary after *heolstre*; otherwise we should expect the infinitive *blīcan* instead of *blāc*. Grein puts a comma after *blāc*, but Grein<sup>2</sup> removes it, ‘*da blāc verbum ist.*’ Cf. 1541, note, for the meaning of *blāc*; and for the construction *becōm . . . blīcan*, see 788–789. — **hefoncandel.** The word occurs also in *Ex.* 115, with reference to the pillar of fire; *Chr.* 608, the sun and moon; *Wonders of Creation* 54, the stars. Cf. 372, note.

**253. cēolum lācað.** Cf. 256<sup>b</sup>; *Chr.* 851: *ofer cald wæter cēolum līðan*.

**255. fūs on faroðe.** Cf. *Gu.* 918: *fūs on forðweg*; *Gu.* 773: *fūsne on forðweg*, etc.; *Beow.* 1916: *fūs æt faroðe*. — **255<sup>b</sup>. fægn.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 70: *ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα*; *Legend*, p. 116: and *hē was gefēonde mid mycle gefēan and him tō cwæð*. Cosijn also calls attention to 602<sup>b</sup>.

**256. hwanon.** Cf. also 258<sup>b</sup> and 264<sup>a</sup>. Bonnet, p. 70, reads: *Ποῦ πορεύεσθε*, etc., and in answer, *Πορευόμεθα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*; *Legend*, p. 116: *hwider wille gē faran*, and the answer, the verb being omitted, *On Marmadonia caestre*. Ll. 265–269 are additions of the poet. — **256<sup>b</sup>.** So *Chr.* 852; *Metr.* XXVI, 60: *cēole līðan*.

**257. mācræftige.** Cf. 472; these are the only two occurrences of *mā-*, comp. of *micel*, in compounds. The meaning of the word appears to be as Grein, *Spr.* II, 202, translates, ‘*praepotens, vor andern geschickt*,’ *Dicht.*, ‘*kraftvolle Männer.*’ *Gm.*, note, says: ‘*Ich vermute ein altes subst. mā, synonym und wurzel*



von *mere*, *mācræftig* = *mere cræftig*; so K., in his translation: 'men powerful on the sea.' Unfortunately no root *mā* = *mere* is recorded. Root translates 'men in seamanship expert'; Hall, 'ye expert mariners.'

**258. āne ægflotan.** Translate 'Whence have ye come sailing in ships, in this admirable vessel, valiant men, in your sea-rusher (ship)?' Grein, *Spr.* I, 65, glosses *ægflotan* as inst. sg., taking the phrase thus as appositive to *cēolum*, 256<sup>b</sup>; so also Cook, and Root, 'Seafaring on your ocean-coursing bark, Your lonely ship.' All other Edd. take the phrase either as appositive to *gē*, 256<sup>a</sup>, or as vocative; *Dicht.*, 'im Meeresboote als einsame Fischer'; K., as voc., 'solitary floaters over the wave,' Hall, 'lonegoing sailors.' But *ægflota* should mean 'ship,' not 'sailor'; cf. *flota*, 397; *sæflota*, 381; *wægflota*, 487; *El.* 246; *Beow.* 1907. For the meaning 'admirable' for *ān*, cf. *Beow.* 1885: *þæt wæs ān cyning*. The Greek here reads (Bonnet, p. 70) *μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου*.

**259. ofer yða gewealc.** So *Beow.* 464; *Edg.* 45; *ymb yþa gewealc*, *Seaf.* 46; *atol yða gewealc*, *Ex.* 455; *Seaf.* 6.

**260. ælmihti.** Cf. *Chronicle*, Laud MS., 656, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 30: *ælmihti god*; *Beow.* 218: *fāmiheals*; *Sat.* 33: *hū hē þæt scyldi werud*; *Gen.* 1463: *hungri to handa*; and so frequently.

**261. swā þæt ne wiste.** Translate 'Him then answered almighty God, as though He knew this not, He who awaited his words, what of men he [Andrew] was, of human kind [*meðelhēgendra*], whom He there at the sea-shore conversed with.' Grein, *Dicht.*, places ll. 261–263 within parentheses, translating *swā þæt* by 'wiewohl das nicht wusste, der des Wortes harrete,' etc. Kemble, Root, and Hall take *swā þæt* as conj. introducing a result clause, Hall remarking on *swā*, 'in such a way that Andrew did not suspect that it was God.' But the translators are certainly wrong in translating *swā þæt* by 'so that.' Omitting the parenthetic clause 261<sup>b</sup>, *þæt* is seen to be the object of *wiste*, the clause *hwæt . . . wiðþingode* being appositive to it. As in 501, *Chr.* 850 (see *An.* 501, note), and *Beow.* 3050 (see Krüger, *PBB.* IX, 576–577), *swā* = 'as if.'

**262.** Cf. *El.* 902–903: *Hwæt is þis, lā, manna, þe mīnne eft þurh fyrngeflit folgaþ wyrdeð?* See 734, note; 885, note. Cf. *Ap.* 25, *Beow.* 233: *hwæt þā men wæron*; *Chr.* 574: *hwæt se Hlāford is*.

**265. feorran geferede.** So *El.* 992; cf. 1173, and *Beow.* 361: *Hēr syndon geferede feorrancumene*; *Sal.* 178: *feorran gefered*.

**266. hranrāde.** Literally, the 'whale-road'; the word occurs, beside the three passages in *Andreas*, in *Beow.* 10 and *Gen.* 205. Cf. *swanrād*, 196; *Beow.* 200; *El.* 997; *Jul.* 675; and see 223, note.

**267. snellic sāmearh.** Cf. *Beow.* 690: *snellic sārinc*. — *snūde bewunden*. Cosijn bases his emendation on the lines, *Whale* 17–18:

cēolas standað  
bi staþe fæste      strēame biwunden.

But *sunde bewunden* is commonplace, whereas *snūde bewunden*, 'enwreathed with speed' (Brooke, p. 415), is quite in the manner of the poet of *Andreas*; cf. 19, 535, 772; *El.* 733: *lēohte bewundene*. *Snūd*, noun, occurs only in this passage; *snūde*, adverb, occurs a number of times.

**271-276.** Cf. 474-479. — Brooke, p. 416: 'The extreme naïveté of the demand for payment and the bargaining on the part of God, belong to the freshness of the morning of poetry, while the conversation supplies us with a clear picture of the manners and talk of travellers and seamen. We stand among the merchant carriers of the eighth century in England.' Neither the Greek nor the *Legend* have at this place the remark of Andrew that he has no money with which to pay his fare; but in both, immediately on stating his wish, he is invited to enter the ship, — without condition in the Greek, but the *Legend*, p. 116 (cf. *An.* 295-297), says: *Āstigað on þis scip tō ūs, and sellað ūs ēowerne færsceat.* In both versions Andrew then explains that he is without money or other provision for the journey.

**273. brante cēole.** Cf. *Beow.* 238: *brontne cēol*; *El.* 238: *bronte brimbisan*; and *Beow.* 2807: *brentingas* = 'ships.' Grimm, p. 103, takes the adjective to mean 'foaming,' 'rushing.' But cf. Icel. *brattr* (Cleas.-Vig., p. 76), 'steep,' and dial. North-English *brant*, *brent* = 'steep.'

**274. hēa hornscipe.** The only occurrence of the word *hornscip*. Grein, *Spr.* II, 98, 107, calls attention to *hringedstefna*, 'ship,' *Beow.* 32, 1131, 1897, and to Icel. *Hringhorni*, the name of a ship (cf. Cleas.-Vig., p. 285); cf. also *hringnaca*, *Beow.* 1862. — 274<sup>b</sup>. So *Seaf.* 60.

**276. þæt.** Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) regards *þæt* as equivalent to *gif*, and cites a second example from Boethius, ed. Fox, p. 234, l. 25. But the probable reading in the passage from Boethius is *þær*, as it is given in Sedgefield's edition (Oxford, 1899), p. 136, l. 26. According to Sedgefield's glossary, *þær* = *gif* occurs some 14 times in Boethius, but no example of *þæt* = *gif* is recorded. The clause *þæt . . . weorðe* is a noun clause, the subject of *bið* (or in apposition with the subject), or dependent on the verbal idea in *bið meorð*: 'God shall reward you that,' etc. (Kittredge). Cf. 480-483. — 276<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ap.* 92<sup>a</sup>.

**279-360.** Cf. Walker, pp. 350-351: 'And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man-eaters, says to him: Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said: We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it; but if thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go. Jesus answered and said to them: Come on board. And Andrew said: I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat. And Jesus said: Say what thou wilt. And Andrew said to him: We have no passage-money to give thee; we have not even bread for our nourishment. And Jesus answered and said to him: How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus: Listen, brother, do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage-money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God. For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats. If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once; if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If this is the commandment which you

received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy. For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold; for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat. And Andrew answered and said: Permit me, brother, may the Lord grant thee glory and honour. And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples.'

286 ff. Again the poet heightens the statement of his original; cf. Bonnet, p. 70: Πράγματι μικρὸν ἔχομεν ἐκεῖ διαπράξασθαι; *Legend*, p. 116: Medmycel ærende wē þider habbað and ūs is þearf þæt wē hit þēh gefyllon.

293<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Runic Poem* 46: ofer fisce beþ; and see 223, note.

294<sup>b</sup>-295<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gn.* 1061-1062: þær mīn hyht myneð tō gesēcenne. þær = 'to which'; cf. 909, note.

297. All Edd. have a comma after **gescrifene**, except C., a semicolon; B. also has a comma after **āras** of his text, the other Edd. no punctuation.

298. **āras**. Reading **āra** with *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> (also *Dicht.* and *Spr.* II, 625), Cook, and apparently also Simons (the word **āras**, 298, is not given under *ār*, but see under *unnan*, p. 146), we should have to take **āra** as the genitive object of **unnan willað**. Thus Root translates 'so upon our bark the seamen will grant honor unto you.' But *ār*, 'honor,' hardly seems an appropriate meaning for the word in the present context.

In the light of the antithetic phrase, **āras on earde**, 400<sup>a</sup>, it would seem almost necessary to retain the form **āras** in the present passage; cf. also 495<sup>a</sup>. The word would thus be appositive to **scipweardas**, as in l. 400 it is appositive to **beornas**, 399<sup>b</sup>. If we accept this reading the chief difficulty lies in the disposition of **unnan willað**. Kemble translates 'after ye your payment have given, the appointed sum, according as the ship-warders, the men over the sea-board, will grant to you'; Hall, 'and pay us the appointed tribute that the masters, messengers [following B.'s punctuation], demand o'er the ship's side.' Hall's treatment of **swā** as equivalent to a relative pronoun is supported by other examples, see B.-T., p. 940; but both Hall's 'demand' and Kemble's 'grant' (=appoint) are unauthorized meanings for **unnan**. Professor Kittredge suggests taking **unnan willað** as simply summing up and repeating what is said before, in 292 ff. The logical object of **unnan willað** is thus contained in **swā**, the antecedent idea of **swā** being the lines 292-297<sup>b</sup>. Professor Bright regards **swā** as conjunctive adverb, and paraphrases the passage as follows: 'as the sailors (**āras**) will be willing to have you do, that is, will allow you to pay.' The phrase **unnan willað** he thinks may be a formula of polite expression; it occurs also in l. 146.

It seems best to regard **unnan willað** as referring especially to the paying of the fare and not to the general situation. The meaning of the verb phrase would be therefore 'agree to,' 'adjudge.' This meaning suits the context also in the parallel construction, where the statement, however, is negative, ll. 178-179. The meaning of **willað** in this construction appears to be less one of volition, desire, than of mere intention. This seems clearly the value of **unnan woldē**, 146; and cf. the three examples of the construction in the first person, 84, 458, 1412.

300. **wineþearfende**. So *Gn.* 1321.

**301. fæted.** A noun *fæt*, 'plate,' 'ornament,' occurs twice in *Beowulf*: the adjective *fæted* occurs, as simplex and in compounds, ten times. Beside the passages in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, the word occurs elsewhere only twice, *Husband's Message*, l. 35: *fættan* (MS. *fædan*) *goldes*; and *Rid.* LII, 7: *fæted gold*.

**302. wīra gespann.** Cf. *El.* 1133–1134: *tēaras fēollon ofer wīra gespon*, spoken of Elene; *Gen.* 762: *hæft mid hringa gesponne*, i.e. 'in chains'; so also *Gen.* 377. *Beow.* 2413, speaking of the treasure of the fire-drake, reads *sē wæs innan full wratta ond wīra*. Perhaps, as Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., suggests to me, *fibulae* are meant. Numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon *fibulae* and armlets are figured in Akerman, *Archæological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods*, plates XVI, XVII, XVIII; in De Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*; and in Read, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities* (of the British Museum), 1904, *passim*.

**303. landes nē locenra bēaga.** The half-line seems to have been taken over bodily from *Beow.* 2996:

*sealde hiora gehwæðrum    hund þūsenda*  
*landes ond locenra bēaga.*

The syntax of the phrase in *Andreas* is not clear. **Landes** cannot be a genitive after *gespann*, in the same construction with *wīra*. Schröer (*Eng. Stud.* X, 121) omitting *landes nē* would construe *locenra bēaga* as appositive to *wīra*. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 314), who regards the passage as corrupt, would apparently explain it in the same way; metrically he thinks both *landes ond* and *landes nē* are to be eliminated. Lines of similar structure, however, are found frequently in *Andreas*; cf. 51, 682, 779, 795, 796, etc. Shipley, p. 48, translates 'I have neither beaten gold nor treasure, riches nor food, nor ornaments of wire, (nought) of land nor closed rings.' As Shipley points out, this is the only instance in Anglo-Saxon poetry of *nabban* followed by the genitive; but for examples in the prose, see Wülfing I, 21. The 'nought' of Shipley's translation is supplied from the general negative statement of the preceding clause; and Professor Kittredge suggests that *landes nē locenra bēaga* is to be regarded as partitive genitive dependent on the negative idea of the sentence. It is possible, however, that the passage is a direct borrowing from *Beowulf* which was imperfectly assimilated into the logical and syntactical structure of the sentence in which it occurs. The extravagance of speaking of gifts of rings and of land is of course part of the general method of the poem; cf. *Introd.*, pp. li ff. With *locenra bēaga* cf. *hringloca*, 'corslet,' *Mald.* 145; *locene leoðosyrca*, *Beow.* 1505, 1890; *gūðbyrne . . . hondlocen*, *Beow.* 322; *licsyrce . . . hondlocen*, *Beow.* 550.

**305. bolcan.** Also 602; the only other occurrence of the word in poetry is *Beow.* 231: *beran ofer bolcan*.

**306. waroða geweorp.** K. translates 'the dashing of the waves,' though he does not change his text to *faroða*. Gn., *Dicht.*, 'über des Ufers Gewerfe.' Cook suggests 'the smiting of the shores, perhaps meaning the plunging of the breakers.' Sweet, *Dict.*, glosses *waroða geweorp* by 'surf.' But cf. B.-T., *geweorp* = 'heap of earth thrown up by a beetle.' The picture here is of the

ridge or heap of sands at the sea-shore; the thought is continued in *sæbeorgas*, 308<sup>a</sup>, and *cald cleofu*, 310<sup>a</sup>.

307. *þæs*. The construction is the accusative of the person to whom a thing happens, with the genitive of the thing that happens, both dependent upon *geweorðan*, as impersonal. Shipley, p. 42, points out similar constructions in *Beow.* 1598, 1996, 2026. — 307<sup>b</sup>. So 1431<sup>b</sup>; *Soul* 138.

308. *woldes*. Other forms with *-es* in the pret. sg. of the second person of weak verbs are *hæfdes*, 530; *feredes*, 1363; *forhogedes*, 1381. See *Gram.*, § 356 and notes.

310<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 1806.

313. After *dugoðe* K. puts a colon, all other Edd. a question-mark. — 313<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 856: *was sē drohtað strong*, also of a (figurative) voyage. Cf. 1385.

314. *lange*. C. takes *lange* as adj. agreeing with *lagolāde*. So also the translations. But cf. 579, 1363, and translate 'The life is hard for him who for a long time goes on a water-journey.'

316. *wīs on gewitte*. See 552, and note. — *wordhord onlēac*. So 601; *Beow.* 259; *Metr.* VI, 1; *Wid.* 1.

320–323. Cf. *Beow.* 1384–1385: *sēlre bið æghwæm þæt hē his freond wrece þonne hē fela murne*.

320. *sārcwide*. All the translations take *sārcwide* as inst. sg.; so also *Spr.* II, 391, and Cook, note, 'inst. sg. parallel with *mid oferhygdum*.' But the natural parallel is between *ondsware* and *sārcwide*. Translate therefore as obj. of *sēce*. The prep. phrase *mid oferhygdum* modifies both nouns.

322. *cūðlice*. 'Kindly, friendly.' The following passages illustrate the meaning of the word: *hine sē Godes monn ūp hōf ond him cūðlice tō spræc* (*Bright, Reader*, p. 62, l. 12);

Ārās þā metodes þēow  
 gastum tōgēanes, grētan ēode  
 cuman cūðlice, cynna gemunde  
 riht ond gerisno.

*Gen.* 2429–2432.

— *swā þæt Crīst bebēad*. Apparently a general allusion to such passages as *Matt.* XXV, 35 ff.; *Heb.* XIII, 2, etc. The Greek and Anglo-Saxon prose quote an entirely different verse, *Matt.* X, 10; *Mark* VI, 9, at this place; the sense of the allusion in *Andreas* is implied, however, in the verse as quoted in the Greek and prose.

323<sup>a</sup>. So 479<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 457, 944; *Ex.* 363. — *his*. Cf. 1664, where the MS. reads *his* and the context demands *is*. Wülker inconsistently reads *his* in both passages.

324. Cf. *Beow.* 206: *cempan gecorone*; *Gu.* 769: *cempan gecorene*.

327. *swā hē*. Equivalent to 'who'; cf. 1514, *swā hit* = 'which.' — *ānes cræfte*. So *Jul.* 359; and cf. 525; *Chr.* 567: *ānes meahtum*; *ibid.* 685: *þurh his ānes cræft*.

328. *hefon*. *O*-umlaut of *e, i*, is regular in the *Andreas*, but is lacking here and in *brego* (twice) and *werod* (twice); see Glossary.

329. *sigora sēlost*. Translate 'best' or 'most eminent in victories.' The phrase does not occur elsewhere. *Sigora sellend* occurs *Jul.* 668, 705, and *Panther* 64. *Sēlost* with the partitive genitives *beorna*, *folca*, *sigelēana*, and other

nouns, forming a phrase superlative, is of frequent occurrence. But *sigora* in the present passage (not recorded by Shipley, p. 78) is not a partitive genitive, but a genitive after a form of the word *gōd*. Cf. *Beow.* 269: *wes þū ūs lārena gōd*; *Seaf.* 40: *ne his gifena þæs gōd*; *Brun.* 47-48: *hlihhan ne ðorfton ðæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon*. Root, reading *sellend*, translates 'Giver of victory.' Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., calls my attention to *Ex.* 433: *sōðfæst sigora*.

**331. geond ginne grund.** So *Wid.* 51, where it means 'over the spacious earth'; *Beow.* 1551: *under gynne grund*, 'beneath the wide earth' = into Hell?; *Jud.* 2: *in ðys ginnan grunde* = 'upon earth.' Cf. *Gen.* 134: *geond sīdne grund*, 'over the broad earth.' K., 'beyond the abysmal deep'; but Hall, better, 'into all the world.'

**332-339.** This paraphrase is apparently made up from two passages, *Matt.* X, 5 ff., and *Mark* XVI, 14 ff. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 71, l. 14) reads: *καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐντολὴν τοιαύτην, λέγων ὅτι πορευόμενοι κηρύσσειν μὴ βαστάζετε ἀργύριον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μήτε ἄρτον μήτε πήραν μήτε ὑποδήματα μήτε ῥάβδον μήτε δύο χιτῶνας*. Cf. *Chr.* 481-490 for a parallel to this passage:

Farað nū geond ealne yrmenne grund,  
geond wīdwegas; weoredum cȳðað,  
bodiað ond brēmað beorhtne gelēafan,  
ond fulwiað folc under roderum;  
hweorfað tō [hæðnum], hergas brēotaþ,  
fyllað ond fēogað; fēondscype dwæscað,  
sibbe sāwað, on sefan manna,  
þurh meahta spēd. Ic ēow mid wunige  
forð on frōfre, ond ēow friðe healde  
strengðu staþolfæstre on stōwa gehwāre.

The excellent emendation *hæðnum* for the MS. *heofonum*, l. 485, was suggested by Strunk, *MLN.* XVII, 186.

**333.** Cf. *Beow.* 1221-1224:

Hafast þū gefēred þæt ðē feor ond nēah  
ealne wīdeferhþ weras ehtigað  
efne swā sīde swā sæ bebūgeð  
windge [e]ardweallas.

*Beow.* 92-93: *se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte . . . swā wæter bebūgeð*; *Men.* 230: *swā bebūgeð gebod*.

**334. stedewangas stræte gelicgaþ.** Cosijn reads *stedewanga*, gen. pl., 'denn die ganze welt sollten sie durchziehen.' But the advantages of this reading hardly justify changing the text. This is the only instance of *gelicgað* as a transitive verb. The prefix *ge-* makes the intrans. *licgað* trans. (Bright). Cf. 774, 1234.

**335<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Ex.* 510: *bodigean æfter burgum*. — 335<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 770; cf. *lēohte gelēafan*, *Ap.* 66, and note.

**336. freoðo healde.** Cf. also 915, 1432; *Chr.* 489; *Gu.* 281; *Gen.* 2528. For other examples of *healdan* with inst., cf. *Beow.* 296, 1182: *ārum healdan*; with gen., cf. *Mald.* 41: *ēow friðes healdan*.

**337<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Beow.* 37: *frætwa gelæded*.

339. **āhwette**. Cook, p. 217, 'āhwette = supply, not the normal sense of the word.' See 303 for an example of the usual sense.

343. **ēce**. The MS. **ēce** is interpreted by Wülker as meaning **æce**; for examples of the form **æce**, see *Spr.* I, 230. Cf. also l. 89, where the MS. reads **segl**. But the usual spelling of the MS. is **e**, **ē**, and there is no indication that the hook, or reversed cedilla, is here used to signify the digraph. In **æglæawe**, *Ap.* 24, **æ** is written for **e**.

348<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 352, *Gen.* 2357: **swā þū bēna eart**; *Beow.* 3140: **swā hē bēna wæs**; *Gen.* 2248: **swā ic bēna wæs**; *Beow.* 364: **Hȳ bēnan synt**.

352<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Panther* 8: **sealtȳþa geswing**.

356. **worulde, wuldre**. This obvious antithesis of **woruld** and **wuldor**, the latter word being used in the generalized sense of 'heaven,' occurs less frequently than one would expect. The only other examples are l. 948, and *Gu.* 370; **wuldo** in *Christ and Satan* 59 has a different meaning. See my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 407.

358<sup>a</sup>. Cf. **on þām sīðfæte**, 1662; also *Ex.* 521; *Rid.* XLIV, 7; *Vision of the Cross* 150; **tō ðyssum sīðfæte**, *Beow.* 2639; **tō þām sīðfæte**, *Hy.* IV, 102: **of ðan sīðfæte**, *Jud.* 336.

359. **helmwearde**. The change is necessary in l. 396 and extremely probable in the present passage. All the translations follow the MS. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 12) reads: *καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐκαθέσθη παρὰ τὸ ἰστίον τοῦ πλοίου*; the Anglo-Saxon prose (*Legend*, p. 117, l. 2): **and hē gesæt beforan þām stēorrēþran þæscipes, þæt was Drihten Hælend Crīst**.

360. **æðele be æðelum**. For other examples of repetition of the same word within the half-line, cf. 615, 620, 738, 1012. Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 426-427, collects further instances throughout the poetry. For examples of the opposite device, the avoidance of the repetition within the half-line, cf. 138, note. — **Æfre ic ne hȳrde**. Cf. *Beow.* 38-39: **ne hȳrde ic cymlicor cēol gegyrwan hildewæpnum and heaðowædum**; *El.* 240-242: **Ne hȳrde ic sīð nē ær on ēgstrēame idese lādan on merestræte mægen fægrrē**. Cf. *Beow.* 1842-1843, quoted ll. 505<sup>b</sup>-509, note.

362. Kemble has no punctuation after **hēahgestrēonum**, and translates 'Never heard I that in a comelier ship laden with lofty treasures men sat, glorious kings, beauteous thanes.'

364 ff. On this passage Brother Azarias (*Development of Old English Thought*, p. 137) remarks: 'This is a reminiscence of the saga of Woden playing the ferryman to deliver men from danger.' On 987 ff., he says (p. 138): 'Here is the work of the mythical tam-cap without the name.' And on 1258, **hære hildstapan**, he says (p. 139): 'Here is more than personation. "Rime and frost, hoary warriors": these were real gods in the Northern mythology. But Andrew suffers not; his wounds are healed before morning, as were the wounds of the heroes of old in the Northern sagas.' But the motives of the poem were all derived from the source, and it is doubtful if they suggested to the poet any parallels to Norse mythology.

365. **heht his engel gān**. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 14) adds: *καὶ ἀνένευκε τρεῖς ἄρτους* — a loaf for each of the strangers.

366. **mārne maguþegn**. Cf. *Beow.* 2079: **mārum maguþegne**, of Hondscio, follower of Beowulf.



367. *frēfran fēasceafte*. Cf. 365, note. Cf. *Chr.* 175: *āfrēfran fēasceaftne*; l. 368: *āfrēfre fēasceafte*. But Andrew's disciples do not eat, cf. l. 385. This incident is omitted in the prose *Legend*.

369<sup>b</sup>-381. Cook, p. 219, note 3, says: 'There is no hint of any extraordinary commotion, much less of a storm, in the original. Of all this long description there is nothing except, "They were troubled because of the sea."' Brooke, p. 416: 'The storm is now described in words that come, one after another, short, heavy, and springing, like the blows of the waves, and the gusts of wind. We know as we read that the writer has seen the thing.' Cf. 427, note.

370. *hornfisc*. The only occurrence of the word. Cf. *Beow.* 540: *wit unc wið hronfiscas werian þōhton*. Possibly we should read *hronfisc* in the present passage. But cf. Icel. *hornfisker* (Danish *hornfisk*), and *horngæla*, 'the garfish or greenbone' (Cleas.-Vig., p. 279).

371<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 515: *glidon ofer gārsecg*, of swimmers in the sea. — *se græga mæw*. The mew or sea-gull, frequently mentioned in the verse. The name (Germ. *möwe*, Icel. *mār*) was perhaps originally imitative of the cry of the bird (Whitman, "The Birds of OE. Literature," in *Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, 180).

372. *wedercandel*. The word occurs again, *Ph.* 187; cf. also *wedertācen*, *Gu.* 1267, and *wederes blæst*, *An.* 837, both in the sense of 'sun.' See also *wederburg*, 1697, note. The word *candel*, to the modern mind an anticlimax after 'sun,' to the Anglo-Saxon mind must have connoted dignified ideas. The word was ecclesiastical in origin and was introduced into English early after the conversion to Christianity. Its use in poetic compounds evidently reflects some of its sacred character; cf. *NED.* s.v. 'candle,' and *Rom. and Jul.* III, v, 9: 'Night's candles are burnt out.' Cf. *heofoncandel*, 243; *dægacandel*, 835; *Godes condelle*, *Ph.* 91.

374. *gurron*. Glossed by Grein and B.-T. under *georran*, but the more probable infinitive is *gierran*, *gyrran* (cf. *Gram.*, § 388, note 1, and Sweet, *Dict.*, p. 75). The only other occurrence of the word is in Ælfric's *Grammar* (cf. B.-T., p. 428), *ic gyrre*, 'garrio.'

375. *wædo gewætte*. Gm., translating 'vadum madefiebat, replebatur aquis,' and Gn., *Dicht.*, 'wogen schwollen,' take *wædo* as nom. pl. of *wæd* = 'wave, ocean.' K., followed by Hall, 'wet with the waters'; Root, 'dripping with the waves'; and Brooke, p. 171, 'wet with breaking sea,' understand the form as inst. sg. of the same word. But, as Cosijn points out, the inst. form is *wæde*, and even *wæde gewætte* is not a plausible reading. Cosijn's *wada gewealce* fits the context but involves too great a departure from the MS. forms. B., B.-T. (s.v. *wæd*), and Simons, p. 148, take *wædo* as nom. pl. of *wæd*, 'sail, cordage.' The present passage is the only occurrence of *wæd* in this sense, except in the glosses; but the following examples place the meaning beyond a doubt: *W. W.* 5, 44, *antemne*, *wæde* (cf. 6, 1, *antemna*, *seglgærd*); *W. W.* 450, 33, *mataxa*, *wæde*; *W. W.* 515, 15, *rudentibus* (*indisruptis*), *wæderapum* (*untoslitenum*). Cf. also Icel. (Cleas.-Vig., p. 683) *vað*, 'a piece of stuff, cloth,' metaph. 'a fishing-net,' and in poetry 'a sail,' with compound *vāð-hæfr*, adj., 'fit for sail.' *Wædo gewætte* is accordingly nom. pl., and, as we should expect, a parallel phrase to *strengas*, 374<sup>b</sup>. For the pret. part. form *gewætte* instead of *gewated*, cf. *Gram.*, § 402, 2. — Grimm,



Grein, and Wülker have only a comma after *gewætte*, the other Edd. a semicolon. — *stōd*. Cook, p. 219, note 6: 'A peculiar use of *standan* to indicate motion rather than rest. In Mod. Eng. this general sense is represented in phrases like "stand back," "stand off from shore," "stand up," "stand out," etc.' The examples are numerous: *Beow.* 726: him of ēagum stōd . . . lēoht unfæger; *Chron.* 892 (Parker MS.): men cweþaþ on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorra forþæm þær stent lang lēoma of; *Finnesb.* 37: swurdlēoma stōd. Cf. the similar development in *licgan* = 'extend,' 'flow,' said, for example, of rivers and bodies of water.

**376. *prēata prýðum*.** Brooke, p. 171, 'with the strength of armies.' 'This seems an impersonation almost too fine for so early a time. It is quite in the manner of the modern imagination. It is Kemble's translation, and Grein's is more probable, though I do not like to surrender the other — "Mächtig durch die Massen." ' Root, 'with the might of multitudes'; Hall, 'the waves in battalions mast-high mounted.' An even more dramatic personification is that of ll. 443–445.

**377<sup>b</sup>–380.** Cf. *Beow.* 691–692: Nænig heora þōhte, þæt hē þanon scolde eft eardlufan æfre gesēcean; cf. also *Beow.* 1596–1599.

**381. *sund wisode*.** Cf. 488.

**382. *holmwege*.** The only occurrence of the word. Should one read here *wēg* = *wæg* (cf. l. 601), the compound meaning 'sea-wave'? But cf. *bæð*-, *flōd*-, *flotweg*, and *brimrād*.

**383. *argeblond*.** The only occurrence of this word and its companion forms, *ārýð*, 532, and *ārwela*, 853. *Ārgeblond* is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* I, 37, 'remorum commixtio, mare remis turbatum,' *ārýð*, *Spr.* I, 39, 'unda remis pulsata,' and *ārwela*, 'divitiæ remorum, mare.' B.-T., and Sweet, *Dict.*, follow *Spr.*; so also Cook. Professor Hart makes the unquestionably correct suggestion that *argeblond* = *ēargeblond* (*ārýð* = *ēaryð*, *ārwela* = *ēarwela*), as in *El.* 239; *Brun.* 26; *Met.* VIII, 30. The fanciful combinations of *ār* = 'oar' with *geblond*, *ýð*, and *wela*, as they occur only in these passages in *Andreas*, may therefore be dropped from the dictionaries.

**387<sup>a</sup>.** So *Gu.* 565, 581; *Dan.* 409.

**393. *geofon gēotende*.** Cf. *Beow.* 1690: gifen gēotende; and see 1508, 1585. — ***grund*.** The sense demands here, as in l. 425, the meaning 'deep sea, ocean.' *Spr.* I, 531, cites as the only other example of this meaning *Beow.* 1551: *under gynne grund*; but cf. 331, note. *Sægrund*, however, occurs, *Beow.* 564, and elsewhere, and *wætergrund* once, *Ps.* CVI, 23. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 10) cites a gloss (*Blickl. Gl.* p. 258): *grund*, 'profundum,' *grundas*, 'abys(s)os, -i.'

**394<sup>a</sup>.** So 1529<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 168.

**395<sup>a</sup>.** So *El.* 138, 1292; *Ex.* 101, 300; cf. l. 1571. — **395<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Gu.* 1170: *mōd-geþanc miclum gebisgad*.

**396. *helman*.** See l. 359, note.

**405–414.** The response of Andrew's disciples in the Greek is as follows (Bonnet, p. 74, ll. 7–8): 'Εὰν ἀποστῶμεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, ξένοι γενώμεθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος. νῦν οὖν μετὰ σοῦ ἐσμεν ὅπου δ' ἂν πορεύῃ. The *Legend* (p. 117, ll. 11–13) reads: Gif wē gewītað fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde fram eallum þām gōdum þe þū ūs gearwodeſt; ac wē bēoð mid þē swā hwyder swā þū færest. The passage in *Andreas* is not, therefore, as is stated by Hall, p. 75, and Cook, p. 221, entirely

original with the poet; its feeling, however, for the *comitatus*, the ideal of allegiance to an over-lord, is original with the poem. For a discussion of the *comitatus*, see l. 3, note, and Introd., p. lii. Tacitus, *Germania* 14, tells us that among the Germans it was considered the greatest disgrace for a retainer to survive his leader: 'Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.' And the same motive appears in the reproach which Wiglaf addresses to the cowardly followers of Beowulf:

Nū sceal sincþego    and swyrdgifu,  
eall ēðelwyn    ēowrum cynne,  
lufen ālicgean:    londrihtes mōt  
þære mægburge    monna æghwylc  
īdel hweorfan,    syððan æðelingas  
feorran gefricgean    flēam ēowerne,  
dōmlēasan dæd!    Dēað bið sēlla  
eorla gehwylcum    þonne edwitlif.  
ll. 2884-2891.

See also *Mald.* 220-252 ff.

406. *gōde orfeorme*. Also l. 1617; *Jud.* 271; *Mod.* 49. Cosijn quotes the Greek, see 405-414, note. *Dicht.* translates 'gottverlassen'; Kemble, 'of good devoid'; Root, 'forsaken quite by God'; Hall, 'God-forsaken.'

408-409. Cf. *Chr.* 193<sup>b</sup>-195<sup>a</sup>: scyle mānswara lāþ lēoda gehwām lifgan siþþan, fracoð in folcum.

410. *æht besittap*. Equivalent syntactically to *eahtiað*, of which the following clause may be considered the object. The same phrase occurs l. 608 and *El.* 473.

412. *hlāforde æt hilde*. The scansion of the half-line is  $\underline{\text{—}}\text{—} \times \times \mid \underline{\text{—}} \times$ ; according to Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, § 85, note 2, the only other occurrence of a trisyllabic word of the form  $\underline{\text{—}}\text{—} \times$  as the first element of a line of this type is *Gu.* 602: gästlicne goddrēam,  $\underline{\text{—}}\text{—} \times \mid \underline{\text{—}}\text{—}$ .

414. *nearu*. Cf. *Beow.* 2594: nearo ðrowode. The acc. sg. is regularly *-e*, exceptionally (Sievers, *PBB.* I, 493) *-u*, *-o*, in *Mald.* 48, *Beow.* 2350 (to which add *Beow.* 2594), and the present passage.

416<sup>b</sup>. So l. 1497<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 723.

421. *ofer fealuwne flōd*. Cf. *Beow.* 1950: ofer fealone flōd. 'The most common use of *fealo* is in connection with water. . . . But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as fallow flood, seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but perhaps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 198-199.

424. *sund is geblonden*. Preserving the MS. reading, K. translates 'the sand is mixed together, the abyss with the strand.' Hall, and Brooke, p. 171, follow K. Reading *sund*, Gn., *Dicht.*, translates 'die Flut ist gemengt, der Grund mit dem Griesse.' Wülker remarks that the change from *sand* to *sund* is unnecessary, 'wie schon v. 425, *grund wið grēote* hätte beweisen können.' But *grund* is appositive to *sund*, and as *grund* can mean here only 'ocean' (see 425, note) its evidence bears quite the other way. Cf. the parallel picture, *Beow.* 212:

strēamas wundon, sund wið sande. *Gm.* 1308, *sondlond gespearn, grond wið grēote*, is not a parallel, as it describes the landing of a boat on shore. *El.* 251, *sande bewrecene*, should surely read *sunde bewrecene*, since the boats here were not beached, but were riding at anchor.

425. *grund wið grēote*. For *grund* = 'ocean, deep,' cf. l. 393, note. With *grēote* = 'shore,' cf. runic inscription (*Bibl.* I, 282), *þær hē on grēut giswom*.

425<sup>b</sup>-426. Cf. *Beow.* 478<sup>b</sup>-479: God ēaþe mæg þone dolscaðan dāda getwæfan; *Chr.* 173-174: God ēaþe mæg gehælan hygesorge. Cf. also l. 933; and *Beow.* 2764: sinc ēaþe mæg . . . gumcynnes gehwone oferhigian.

426. *heaðoliðendum*. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *Beow.* 1798 and 2955 (appositive to *sæ-mannum*). The first element appears as simplex in *Beow.* 1862: *sceall hring-naca ofer heaþu bringan lāc ond luf-tācen*. But cf. *Beow.* 2477, *ofer heafo*, 'over the ocean.' *Gm.*, p. 106 (so also *Spr.* II, 40, B.-T., p. 523), explains the word as derived from *heahþo*, 'altitudo,' and distinguishes from *heaþo*, 'bellum,' which he says would give the meaning 'piratae.' But Kluge (*PBB.* IX, 190) would change *Beow.* 1862, *heahþu*, to *heafu*, pl. of *heaf* (as in *Beow.* 2477), and rejects the explanation *heahþo* = *heahþo*, since the form in compounds should be *iheahþo*. He would read therefore *heahþoliðende* = 'kampfseefahrer'; so also Sweet, *Dict.*, 'war-sailor, sea-warrior.' But neither argument is conclusive; the meaning 'sea' for *heahþo*, however, may be accepted as certain.

427. It is not until this point in the narrative in the Greek version that the boat is cast loose from land; cf. Bonnet, p. 74. ll. 13-14: *Kai εἰς τὴν εἰρεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τῆς ἀγγέλων, Ἀνδρέαν τὸ πλοῖον*. The *Legend* does not state clearly when the voyage begins.

428. *wuldorspēdige*. The only occurrence of the adj.; but cf. *Gen.* 87: *setl wuldorspēdige* wīg, of heaven.

429. *Gē þæt gehogodon*. Cf. *Beow.* 632: *ic þæt hogode þā ic on holm gestāh*.

430. *fāra folc*. Cf. l. 1060<sup>a</sup>.

432. *Ælmyrcna*. There is nothing in the Greek or the *Legend* to correspond to this name. The word is an adjective used as noun, the first element *æl* = *eal* (cf. *ælmyrcna*, *ælmyrca*, etc., for the form *æl*), with the value of an intensive, the second element the adjective *myrc*, 'dark,' 'black'; cf. *ælfale*, 'very poisonous.' It means here Ethiopians. Cf. *Af.* 64: *mið Sigelwærm*, which corresponds to *apud Æthiopianum*, in Bede's martyrology, as the seat of Matthew's labors. *Sigelware* is also used with the same meaning in *Fa.* LXXI, 9; LXXXVI, 3; and *Ex.* 69. See note to *Af.* 64. It is evidently from this traditional source which ascribes Africa or Ethiopia to Matthew as his mission that the poet has drawn the inference that the action of the story of Andrew and Matthew took place in the land of the Ethiopians. For a discussion of the probable situation of Mermedonia, see *Introd.* p. lxxi.

436. *gegyrd ond gedrehtod*. Cf. l. 520: and *Sa.* 333: *gedyrd hie* [i.e. *wæstmas*] = *ond gedrehtod*. For *gedyrd*, contract verb cf. *Gm.*, § 408 note 18.

438 ff. See *Mark* IV, 30 ff.

439<sup>a</sup>. So *Kaven* 307.

440. *berdtafla*. 'The outfit' or 'rigging.' This is the only occurrence of the word; it is glossed in all the dictionaries (except *Simons*, p. 17, 'schifftau

as 'shore.' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 10), 'sea-shore' does not satisfy the demands of the context, since the boat is now in the open sea. Brooke, p. 171, guesses 'bulwarks.' The right meaning, however, is indicated by Ælfric's glossary, *nomina navium et instrumenta earum* (*W.W.* I, 288, 26), where *stæþ* is glossed 'safon.' *Safon*, *saphon* (according to DuCange) = *funis in prora*. The word must be taken as a synonym of *strengas*, 374, *wædo*, 375. The first element of the compound would mean 'ship,' the whole word 'the rigging of the ship.'

443. *ȳð oðerre*. Cf. *Metr.* XXVI, 29-30: *stunede sio brüne ȳð wið oðre*; and Psalm XLII, 7: 'deep calleth unto deep.' Cf. 138, note.

444<sup>b</sup>-445<sup>a</sup>. The suggestion for the picture was found in the original; cf. Bonnet, p. 75, ll. 3-4: *καὶ ἀνέμου μεγάλου γενομένου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης κυμαινομένης, ὥστε τὰ κύματα ὑψωθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἰστίῳ τοῦ πλοίου*; *Legend*, p. 117, l. 22: *fram þām winde wæs geworden swā þæt þā selfan ȳþa wæron āhafene ofer þæt scip*. A similar but much weaker personification is found in *Beow.* 783-784:

Norð-Denum stōd  
atelic egesa    ānra gehwylcum.

445. *ȳðlid*. Cf. the parallel, *ofer ȳðbord*, l. 298. Gm., reading *ȳðlið*, translates 'undarum iter, via'; so also Gn., *Dicht.*, 'Schrecken oft am Seeweg'; but *Spr.* II, 767, 'navigium, navis.'

448<sup>a</sup>. So *Dan.* 725<sup>b</sup>.

449. *tō mærum*. 'At the hands of the Lord,' as in *Chr.* 773: *Utan ūs tō Fæder freoþa wilnian*. For other examples, see *Spr.* II, 539. Professor Kittredge calls attention to the idiom *on . . . niman*, in which the equivalent phrase in MnE. would demand 'from' (see *Spr.* II, 297, for examples), and the construction to 'ask at' a person (see *NED.* s.v. 'ask'). Cf. further *æt . . . findan*, e.g. *Jul.* 658-659: *þær gē [frōfra] āgun æt mæгна Gode*; *El.* 1215: *æt þām bisceope bōte findan*; *An.* 908: *milts æt mærum*. For similar constructions with verbs of seeing, hearing, etc., see Sievers, *PBB.* XII, 189. See also Wülfing, II, 321, s.v. *wilnian*.

451. Wülker has no punctuation after *ēadgifa*, all other Edd. a comma or semicolon.

453. *sessade*. The only occurrence of the word. A noun *sess*, 'seat,' occurs *Beow.* 2717 and 2756.

454. *Ðā ūre mōd āhlōh*. Cf. *Beow.* 730: *þā his mōd āhlōg*; *Sal.* 178: *nāfre ær his ferhþ āhlōg*. Battenwieser, p. 49, calls attention to the similar idiom in Icel. (*þrymskwipa*, 31):

Hló Hlorriþa  
hugr i briósti.

Cf. l. 140, note.

455. *gesēgon*. An Anglian form; cf. *Gram.*, § 391, 2, note 7.

457<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 2590.

458. Cf. *El.* 574: *ic ēow tō sōþe secgan wille*.

458-460. Cf. *Beow.* 572-573; *Wyrd oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen dēah*. Probably the same formula stood in *Rid.* LXXIII, 9, where the phrase *gif his ellen dēag* remains in an otherwise corrupt passage. Cf. also *Fæd.* 48: *ā*

þē bið gedæled, gif þē dēah hyge; *Gen.* 1287–1288: Drihten wiste þæt þæs æðel-  
 linges ellen dohte; *Rid.* LXII, 7: Gif þæs ondfengan ellen dohte; *Sat.* 283–284:  
 Forþon mæg gehycgan, se ðe his heorte dēah, þæt hē him āfirre frēcne geþohtas.  
 Grimm, p. xlii, and Fritzsche, p. 44, note *Hildebrandslied* 55: *ibu dir din ellen*  
*taoc.* Cook (*MLN.* VIII, 59) cites numerous examples of the formula in Latin  
 literature, from which the MnE. proverb, 'Fortune favors the brave,' appears  
 to have been derived. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 75, l. 8) has nothing corresponding  
 to 460<sup>b</sup>: *ὁ γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη ἡμᾶς.* Perhaps the poet may have  
 had in mind, however, Psalm XXXVII, 25 ff., and similar passages.

On these passages Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 236, remarks as follows:  
 'Fate, says Beowulf, as he tells of his battle with the sea-monsters [*Beow.* 572 ff.],  
 fate often saves a man *if he have plenty of courage.*

Oft Wyrd preserveth  
 undoomed earl, — if he doughty be.

The same idea and the same phrase, with very slight change, passed into the  
 Christian poetry of our ancestors, and have since become a commonplace.' See  
 1612, note. A somewhat similar sentiment is that of *Hy.* I, IV, 116–117 (*Bibl.* II,  
 223):

Gōd biþ þæt, þonne mon him sylf ne mæg  
 wyrd onwenden, þæt hē þonne wel þolige.

461. The whole line occurs again in *Gu.* 484.

463<sup>a</sup>. So 879; *Gu.* 147.

464. Cf. l. 820, and *Beow.* 644–646: oþþæt semninga sunu Healfdenes sēcean  
 wolde æfenræste; *Beow.* 1640–1641, oþðæt semninga tō sele cōmon frome  
 fyrðhwate.

468. *gryrehwīle*. Although the second element of this compound usually  
 carries with it the signification of 'time,' the first element here appears to bear all  
 the meaning of the word — 'fright, terror.' Sievers (*PBB.* XVIII, 406) discusses  
 similar compounds, e.g. *earfoðþrāg*, *earfoðhwīl*, with the value merely of *earfoð*;  
*Beow.* 2427, *orleghwīla*, equivalent to the gen. pl. of *orlege*; *Beow.* 2709, *sighwīla*,  
 equivalent to the gen. pl. of *sige*; and points out similar compounds with other  
 expressions of time, e.g. OHG. *sioh-tago*, 'sickness,' MHG. *wē-tac*, *wē-tage*, 'pain,  
 sorrow.'

470<sup>a</sup>. Cf. l. 552, note. — 470<sup>b</sup>. Cf. l. 671; *Jul.* 79: ferþlocan onspēon; *El.* 86:  
 hreðerlocan onspēon.

471–474. Cf. ll. 493–495, note; ll. 553–554, note.

474–476. Cf. *Beow.* 426–428: Ic þē nūðā, brego Beorht-Dena, biddan wille,  
 eodor Scyldinga, ānre bēne.

478. Grimm and Baskervill put a period after *fætedsinces*.

480. *gōdne*. The strong form after *þinne* because the word is detached from  
 its syntactical group? Professor Kittredge suggests that the adj. is strong because  
 it is here felt as an appositive to *þinne frēondscipe*.

483. *ēste wyrðest*. The metre confirms the reading *ēste*, as in *Gen.* 150:  
 þā him ealra wæs āra ēste ælmihtig God; and *Beow.* 945: þæt hyre eald met  
*ēste wære*.

484. *cræftes nēosan*. Cf. *Ap.* 103.

487. *bestēmdon*. The spelling *-on* for *-an* finds a parallel in *bruconne*, l. 23.

489. *on gifeðe*. This is the only occurrence of the phrase. The context favors *on geofone*, appositive to *on sǣbāte*, 490<sup>b</sup>; cf. also *τὴν θάλασσαν* of the Greek version, l. 490, note. For the meaning 'fate, lot, chance,' for *gifeðe*, cf. *Beow.* 3085: *wæs þæt gifeðe tō swið, þe ðone [þeodcýning] byder ontyhte*.

490. *syxtýne sīðum*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 75, ll. 17–18: *ἐξκαιδέκατον γὰρ ἐπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ἐπτακαιδέκατον*. In spite of this, Brooke, p. 172, remarks: 'Then, either because the poet wishes to give local color and invents voyages for Andrew, or, as I would fain believe, introduces his own personal experience of the deep and imputes it to Andrew, he tells how he has been sixteen times at sea, and contrasts these old journeys with his present one'; also, p. 414, 'There is even a personal touch, as I believe, in one passage, which speaks of his having been sixteen times on sea-journeys.' Hammerich-Michelsen, *Aelteste christl. Epik*, pp. 99–100, translates this passage, ll. 489–505, remarking: 'stehet der Herr Jesus nicht hier ungefähr ebenso am Bord, wie in dem Tagen des Heidenthums Thor oder Odin, wie im Mittelalter, der heilige Olaf?' Cf. l. 364 ff., note.

491–492. Translate 'I . . . cold as to my hands stirring the water-streams.' *Mundum frēorig* is paralleled by *Ph.* 86: *feðrum strong*, and by *Ph.* 100: *feðrum wolonc* (Bright). *Mundum* is to be regarded as a dative of specification. *Frēorig* is nom. sg. masc., agreeing with *ic*, 489<sup>a</sup>, and *hrērendum* is dat. pl., agreeing with *mundum*. Cf. *Wand.* 4: *hrēran mid hondum hrīncealdesǣ*; *Chr.* 677–678: *sundwudu drīfan, hrēran holmþræce*.

492. *is ðys āne mā*. 'Is this once more.' Grein's translation, *Dicht.* and *Spr.* I, 32, 'doch ist dies ein grösser' (*āne* taken as nom. sg. neut. weak) does not give the necessary meaning of one journey more, a seventeenth. Cook, p. 226, translates 'this makes another journey,' construing *āne* as Grein does; so also Root and Hall. Kemble translates 'this is once more.' As there is no reason why *āne* should be inflected weak, Kemble's interpretation of *āne* as instrumental adverb is to be preferred; *syxtýne sīðum*, l. 490<sup>a</sup>, is to be understood as adverbial, 'sixteen times' (cf. *ðōðre sīðe* etc.), rather than 'on sixteen journeys.' Cf. *Ps.* LXVIII, 4:

Hiora is mycle mā    þonne ic mē hæbbe  
on hēafde nū    hāra feaxes.

493. *Swā = swā þeah*.

493–495. Cf. ll. 498–499; *Beow.* 247<sup>b</sup>–249<sup>a</sup>: *Nǣfre ic mǣran geseah eorla ofer eorþan ðonne is ēower sum, secg on searwum*; *Jul.* 547<sup>b</sup>–550<sup>a</sup>:

ic tō sōþe wāt  
þæt ic ær ne sīð    ænig ne mētte  
in woruldrīce    wip þē gelic  
þrīstran gēpohtes.

Cf. ll. 553–554, note.

494. *þrýðbearn hæleða*. The metre and the sense are both improved by Cosijn's emendation. Synonymous nouns in juxtaposition (except *Dryhten Hælend*, 541, 897, 1407) are not found elsewhere in *Andreas*, and but rarely in the body of the poetry; examples are cited by Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 137) as follows:

*Beow.* 398, 1259, 2198, 2493; *Gu.* 1119. Holthausen (*Angl. Beibl.* XV, 73–74) regards *El.* 140: *darod̥ æsc*, as in the same construction. See 1340<sup>a</sup>.

495. *stēoran ofer stæfnan*. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 10) takes *stēoran* as infin., in which case *ofer* is illogical, unless with Gn., *Spr.* II, 481, *stēoran* be taken as intransitive. The better reading is that of Sievers in his comment on Cosijn's note: *stēoran* acc. sg. of *stēora*, 'steersman,' appositive thus to *pryðbearn*, 494<sup>a</sup>, and *mann*, 493<sup>b</sup>. — *hwileð*. 'The surge resounds.' Gm., K., Gn., read *hwileð* from a hypothetical *hwīlan*, 'to delay.' But Gn., *Spr.* II, 121, cancels the form *hwileð* and glosses (p. 117) under *hwelan*, 'clangere'; so *Dicht.*, 'Die Stromflut wälzt sich.' This is the only occurrence of the word, but *onhwileð*, 'reboat,' is recorded by *W.W.* I, 528, 39, and a noun *on hwelunge*, 'in clangore,' *ibid.*, I, 423, 20.

496. *bēateþ brimstæðo*. Baskervill supposes a 3d sg. *bēatap*, citing *prēatað*, 520, and *gangaþ*, 891, as further examples; but *prēatað* is the normal form for the 2d class of weak verbs, and *gangað* is plural (cf. Bright's note, *MLN.* II, 81), the construction looking to the implied sense. Read therefore *bēateþ*, *strēamwelm*, 495<sup>b</sup>, being subject, and *brimstæðo*, acc. pl., object; thus *Dicht.*, 'Die Stromflut . . . peitscht die Brandungsgestade.' K., taking *brimstæðo* as two words, 'the sea beateth the shores.' The picture of the surf on the shore is somewhat incongruous in a description of the open sea, and one would like to read as in l. 442; but the other seems to be the conventional phrasing; cf. besides 239, 1543, the following: *Rid.* III, 6: *hwælmere hlimmeð, hlūde grimmeð; strēamas staþu bēatað*; and *Metr.* VI, 15: *ēac þā rūman sǣ norðerne ýst nēde gebædeð, þæt hīo strange geondstýred on staðu bēateð*. — *ful scrid*. Gm. presents the alternatives: *fulscrýd*, 'plene instructus,' from *scrūd*, 'vestitus, ornatus, apparatus,' quoting *El.* 258, subst., *gūðscrūd*; or *fulscrid*, 'plene incedens,' from *scriðan*, 'ire, ingredi,' though if from the latter word he thinks the form should be *fulscrida*. Gn., *Dicht.* and *Spr.* II, 411, Root, Hall, and Simons (p. 118), follow Gm.'s second explanation; K., the first, translating 'this boat is fully clothed.' As the second of Gm.'s explanations fits the context better than the first, it is to be accepted; cf. also Icel. (Cleas.-Vig., p. 557) *með fullum skrið* (*Biskupa Sögur* II, 30), where *skrið* means the gliding motion of the ship. On the other hand the derivation of *scrid* from *scrýdan* < *scrūd* derives some confirmation from the MnE. *shrouds* of a ship; Icel. *skruð* (Cleas.-Vig., p. 558) has the same meaning.

497. Cf. *Beow.* 218: *flota fāmi-heals fugle gelicost*.

499. *ofer yðlāde*. The MS. reading *yðlāfe* would mean 'on the shore'; cf. *Ex.* 585, *on yðlāfe*, equivalent to *on geofones staðe*, l. 580; and *fýres, homera lāf*, meaning 'sword.' Bugge (*PBB.* XII, 88–89) comments on the significance of *yðlāf*, 'shore.'

501. *on landsceare*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 76, l. 1: *ὦς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. The word occurs again, 1229; and cf. *folcsceare*, 684. The word is another illustration of the fact that the second element of a compound may be practically meaningless; see 468, note.

501–502. Cf. *Chr.* 850–851: *Nū is þon gelicost swā wē on laguflōde ofer cald wæter cēolum līðan*.



**504. brondstæfne.** The first element of this compound has of course nothing to do with *brand*, 'fire,' as in l. 768. The picture intended is evidently the same as that in l. 273, *brante cēole*. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggested the reading *bront-stæfne*, followed by Grein and Cosijn. But perhaps *brond* is to be retained in the same sense as *stæfn*, forming thus a pleonastic compound; cf. Icel. (Cleas. Vig., p. 76) *brandr*, 'the raised prow and poop, ship's beak,' *fellr brattr breki bröndum hærri*, 'the waves rise high above the "brandar."'

The notion of shipwreck expressed by *brecan brondstæfne*, 'shatter the high-prowed (ship),' seems somewhat too violent for the context here. One would like to take *brondstæfne* as a noun compound, 'prow,' 'bow,' and read *brecan on* (or *ofer*) *brondstæfne*, 'there the storm nor the wind may move it, nor the water-floods break over the high prow.'

Grimm, Grein, and Wülker put only a comma after *brondstæfne*, the other Edd. a semicolon. — *snōweð*. Cf. l. 1430, note.

**505<sup>b</sup>–509.** The allusions to the youth of the pilot are developed from a single word, a vocative *veavloke* (Bonnet, p. 76, l. 2), in the *Πράξις*. But perhaps the poet of *Andreas* had in mind the following words spoken by Hroðgar of Beowulf, *Beow.* 1841–1845:

þē þā wordcwydas wi[t]tig Drihten  
on sefan sende! ne hȳrde ic snotorlīcor  
on swā geongum fēore guman þingian;  
þū eart mægenes strang ond on mōde frōd,  
wīs wordcwida.

**506. wintrum frōd.** The word *frōd*, literally 'wise,' is used frequently in the sense of 'advanced in years,' 'old,' eg. *gēarum*, *misserum*, *fyrndagum frōd*, etc.; see *Spr.* I, 351.

**507. faroðlācende.** Nom., agreeing with *ðū*, l. 505, or the implied subject of *hafast*, l. 507. Cook, p. 227, construes the word as vocative.

**511. on sālāde.** So *Beow.* 1157; the only other occurrence of the noun is *Beow.* 1139: *tō sālāde*.

**512. scipum under scealcum.** Grimm, p. 109, has difficulty in explaining this phrase. He suggests for *scealcum* a form from a hypothetical *scealc* or *scelc*, Icel. *skelkr*, 'fear, terror.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) regards both *scealcum* and the plural *scipum* with suspicion, suggesting that the half-line may have been taken bodily from some other poem. But the plural *scipum* is in keeping here; the statement is a generalization and need not apply to a single ship. In syntax the word is to be taken as coördinate with *brimhengestum*, 513<sup>b</sup>. For *scealc*, 'sailor,' cf. *Whale* 30–31: *ond þonne in dēaðsele drence bifæsteð scipu mid scealcum*.

**515. sīð nesan.** Translate 'At times it befalls us grievously on the waves, upon the sea, though we survive, pass through the terrible journey.' The evident parallel to this passage is *El.* 1003–1004: *gif hīe brimnesen ond gesundne sīð settan mosten*; and on the strength of this passage Gn., *Spr.* II, 446, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) would read here *sīðnesan*, as noun, object of *gefēran*. But the passage in *El.* confessedly offers difficulties (cf. *Bibl.* II, 183) and should not carry too much weight in determining the construction in *Andreas*. The



unconstrained reading here is that which takes **nesan** and **gefēran** as coördinate verbs, in the optative mood. Cf. *Gen.* 1341: þām þe mid sceolon mereflōd nesan.

517<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 1251; *Dan.* 174; *Metr.* xi, 25.

519. **brūne yða**. Besides the passages in which it is descriptive of the waves, the adjective **brūn** is used of armor and weapons. Note also **brūnwann**, 1306, and cf. the ballad phrase 'wan water.' It probably means merely 'dusky,' 'dark.'

523. **wuldras fylde**. The genitive in *-as* is also found in l. 1501, **heofonas**; for other examples, cf. *Spr.* I, 179, s.v. *cyning*; Napier, *Über die Werke des alteng. Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p. 67; and Sievers, *Gram.*, § 237, note 1. These *-as* genitives in *Andreas* are to be regarded rather as late West-Saxon forms than as survivals from an early Anglian original text. The construction of *fyllan* followed by the genitive finds a parallel in *Chr.* 408–409:

forþon þū gefyldest,    foldan ond rodoras,  
wigendra Hlēo,    wuldres þīnes.

Cf. also *El.* 1134: wuldres gefylled. The usual construction after *fyllan* is the accusative and instrumental (cf. Shipley, p. 33).

524. **beorhtne boldwelan**. So *Jul.* 503 and *Ap.* 33.

525. **þurh his ānes miht**. Cf. *Gen.* 272, *Chr.* 685: þurh his ānes cræft.

528<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 262. — All Edd., except Grimm and Grein, put a period or semicolon after **þrymsittendes**.

532. **ār yða**. Cf. l. 383, note.

535. **wuldres blæd**. Equivalent merely to 'heaven'; cf. l. 356, note.

541<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 954–955: *þæt þīn dōm lyfað āwa tō aldre*, of Beowulf; *Chr.* 405: *ð þīn dōm wunaþ*, of the Lord; *El.* 450–453: *ac þāra dōm leofað . . . ðe þone anhangnan Cyning heriaþ ond lofað*.

543<sup>a</sup>. So 669<sup>a</sup>; *Az.* 187. Cf. *Ap.* 15; *Ps.* CIV, 6: *geweorðude ofer werþeoda*.

544–548. Cf. *Gu.* 862: *nāenig hæleþa is þe areccan mæge oþþe rīm wite*; *Hy.* III, 17–18 (*Bibl.* II, 214):

ne magon hȳ nāfre areccan    nē þæt gerīm wytan  
hū þū mære eart,    mihtig drihten;

*El.* 635: *Ic ne mæg areccan, nū ic þæt rīm ne can*. Cf. also *Jul.* 313; *Chr.* 222; *Panther* 3.

546. **ðætte**. 'Of such sort that he,' etc. Other examples are given in *Spr.* II, 573.

548. **dælest**. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, calls attention to the omission of the subject after **hū**.

552. **wīs on gewitte**. Cf. ll. 316, 470; the model for the passage, however, was *Cræft.* l. 13: *wīs on gewitte oþþe on wordcwidum*. In both passages Bright (*MLN.* II, 81) takes **wīs** to be a noun, 'wisdom,' in the genitive case in *Cræft.* 13, in the dative (apparently coördinate with **geofum**, l. 551<sup>b</sup>) case in the passage in *Andreas*; the inflection *-e* in both passages he thinks has either been elided or carelessly dropped, or the construction has been misunderstood. But a noun *wīs* = *wīsdōm* is not recorded, and in the light of the other occurrences of the phrase it seems best to regard it not as an amplification of **geofum**, but as an adj. in the nom. case, agreeing with **ðū**, 550. This is also Professor Bright's present

opinion. Cf. *Höl.* 78: *wīs on bīnum gewitte ond on bīnum worde snottor*, of the angel Gabriel.

553-554. Cf. *Beow.* 1842-1843:

ne hȳrde ic snotorlīcor  
on swā geongum fēore      guman þingian;

and cf. also ll. 471 ff.; 493 ff.

556<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 258: *frægn þā fromlice*. — 556<sup>b</sup>. So *Metr.* XX, 275; cf. *Rid.* LXXXIV, 10, *ōr ond ende*, with the same meaning. See *Rev.* I, 8, 11; XXI, 6; XXII, 13.

557. Cf. *Rid.* XXXIII, 13-14: *Rece, gif þū cunne, wīs worda glēaw*; *El.* 856: *Saga, gif ðū cunne*.

558<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *be* (bi) *sām twēonum*, *Beow.* 858, 1297, 1685; *Ex.* 442, 562; *Gu.* 237, 1333.

559. *ðā ārlēasan*. That is, *Iudea cynn*, which is in apposition. Cosijn's emendation, *ðæt ārlēase*, does not improve the grammar and is bad stylistically.

561. Grein and Wülker have only a comma after *hearmcwide*, but the other Edd. a period.

564. Cf. *El.* 865-866<sup>a</sup>: *oððæt him gecȳðde cyning ælmihtig wundor for weorodum*; *Chr.* 482: *weoredum cȳðað*.

565<sup>a</sup>. So *Men.* 129, also referring to the miracles of the Lord. The phrase is a favorite one with Wulfstan; cf. Napier's ed., p. 159, l. 5: *swutol and gesȳne*; P- 163, l. 14: *swytol and gesȳne*, etc. Cf. also *Gen.* 2806: *sweotol is ond gesēne*.

567. Cf. *Chr.* 1196: *tō hlēo ond tō hrōþer hæleþa cynne*, of Christ.

568<sup>b</sup>-569<sup>a</sup>. See 1677<sup>b</sup>-1678<sup>a</sup>.

569. So 650, 1678; *El.* 334; *Gu.* 1104.

570. *dōmāgende*. Cf. *Jul.* 186: *folcāgende*. — *dæl nænigne*. Cf. Bonnet, P- 76, ll. 17-18: *Πῶς οὐν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; τάχα οὐκ ἐπολῆσεν σημεῖα ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτῶν*; the *frætre þeode* of l. 571 are the Jews of the Greek version. The reply which Andrew makes, l. 573 ff., also demands *nænigne* in l. 570.

573. Cf. l. 137; *El.* 643: *hū is þæt geworden on þysse werþeode*.

575. *gif*. The word is regularly feminine, with accusative in *-e*. But an accusative plural *eardgyfu* occurs, *Ps.* LXXI, 10, and a dative singular *mid þām godcundan gyfe* (Bede, ed. Miller, p. 34, l. 17), both examples being pointed out by Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 252); from these two citations an acc. sg. *gif* may be inferred for the present passage. Wülker cites the compounds *gifstol*, *gifheal*, *gifsceat*, in support of a nominative form *gif*; but such compounds prove nothing, since all *-stems* as first element in compounds end regularly with a consonant.

576<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 811.

577 ff. See *Matt.* XI, 5; *Luke* VII, 21-22.

580. Cf. *Chr.* 1508: *wērgē wonhāle*.

582. *on grundwæge*. The second element of the compound is not the word *wæg*, 'wall' (see 714, 732), as stated by Grimm, p. 111, also *Spr.* I., 531, and B.-T., 492. It is a form of *weg*, 'way'; for examples of *æ* for *e*, cf. *-ræced*, 709; *sægl*, 1456. In *meðlan*, 1440, *e* appears for *æ*. The word *grundwæg*, which occurs only in this passage, is a compound like *eorðwæg*, *foldwæg*, *flōdwæg*, *brimrād*,

etc., and takes its meaning from the first element. Translate, therefore, 'the earth.' See 206, note.

583<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 944–945: seðe dēadra feala worde āwehte.

585. Cf. *El.* 558: cȳðdon cræftes miht; *Chr.* 1145: cȳðde cræftes meaht. See l. 1460, note.

586–588. See *John* II, 1–16. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 2) reads merely ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον μετέβαλεν. **Heremægen**, literally 'army-troop,' appears to have weakened merely to the meaning 'throng'; see Glossary for citations.

587. **ond wendan hēt**. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 12) would take **ond** as equivalent to a relative *ðæt*, object of **hēt**, and he cites examples in which he regards *ond* as having the function of a relative. But this use of *ond* is not established by his citations, nor is it necessary in the present passage.

588. **on þā beterañ gecynd**. A formula; cf. *El.* 1038, 1061; and Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 145: uton wendan georne tō beteran cræfte.

589–594. See *Matt.* XIV, 17 ff.; *Mark* VI, 38 ff.; *Luke* IX, 12 ff.; *John* VI, 8 ff. The poet was apparently not sufficiently familiar with the version of the story in *John* to recall that it is Andrew who is there said to have provided the loaves and fishes.

591<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1424: *fēþa eal gesæt*, of the followers of Beowulf.

592. **rēonigmōde**. Cf. *Whale* 22–23: hæleþ bēoþ on wynnum rēonigmōde ræste gelyste; *Gu.* 1069: wæs him ræste nēod rēonigmōdum. The MS. reading **reomigmode** is the only occurrence of a form *reomig*. Grimm, p. 112, followed by *Spr.* II, 374, compares this form with Goth. *rimis* 'quies'; but Grimm refrains from a decision, noting that the context favors the reading **rēonig-**, 'weary.' As Sievers points out (*PBB.* X, 506) the correct reading here is undoubtedly **rēonigmōde**; both the metre and the sense of the passage demand this form.

594. Cf. 1484<sup>a</sup>; *Dan.* 567: man on moldan; *Gu.* 962: mon on moldan.

595–596. Cf. ll. 811–812; *El.* 511–512: nū ðū meaht gehȳran, hæleð mīn se lēofa, hū, etc.; *El.* 523: hyse lēofesta.

597. **spēon**. The other occurrences of *spanan* in the verse are all in the evil sense, 'entice, allure' (see *Spr.* II, 467); but the word occurs frequently in homiletic or biblical prose (see B.-T., p. 898) in a good sense, as in the present passage.

598<sup>a</sup>. So 1693; *Gu.* 1154; cf. *Chr.* 913: on gefēan fæger; tō þām langan gefēan, *Jul.* 670, *Gu.* 1063, 1281; in þām ēcan gefēan, *Gu.* 1052, 1159, 1345; tō þam sōþan gefēan, *Gu.* 1238.

599<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1247.

600. Cf. *Beow.* 187: æfter dēaðdæge Drihten sēcean.

601. **wēges weard**. Kemble translates correctly 'ruler of the wave'; so also Root. But *Spr.* II, 655, and the other translations take **weges** as derived from *weg*, 'way.' Cf. l. 632.

602<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 998; *Ph.* 550; *El.* 1072.

605. Cf. *El.* 817: þāra þe ic gefremede nālles fēam sīðum; *Jul.* 354: þāra þe ic fremede nālæs fēam sīþum.

606. **folcum tō frōfre**. So *El.* 1142, *Chr.* 1422; *Beow.* 14: folce tō frōfre.

611. **þurh dēopne gedwolan**. So *Jul.* 301. The Edd. put no punctuation after **gedwolan**, and a strong pause after **lārum**; but **dēofles lārum** and **wrā-ðum wærlogan** should be held together. Cf. l. 679.

613<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1297; *Wid.* 9: *wrāþes wārlogan. — sēo wyrd.* Hall, p. 82, 'The original has **Wyrd**; she, in the religion of our forefathers before their conversion to Christianity, was the goddess of destiny, and presided over the fates of men and of gods. She, of course, still rules the affairs of these unconverted **cannibals**.' — A similar use of the word is found in l. 1561, also of the Mermedonians. See Golther, *Handbuch der german. Mythologie*, pp. 104–105; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 372, for a discussion of the meaning of the term *wyrd* and its occurrences in the literature of the Germanic peoples.

The word in its later development has had an interesting history. 'Aus dem Schottischen wohl ist *weird* ins Neuenglische gedrungen. Chaucer kennt zwar *werdes*, *wierdes* neben *wirdes* (vgl. Skeats Glossar), also Formen mit kentischem *e* für *y*, aber das wort scheint bald nach ihm ausgestorben zu sein. Denn in Holinsheds Bericht über Macbeth übernimmt er aus Bellenden den schottischen Ausdruck *weird sisters*, der schon bei Wyntoun (ed. Laing, VIII, 1864) und bei Douglas (II, 142/24) vorkommt, in der schottischen Schreibung *weird*, und findet es nötig, ihn durch den Zusatz zu erklären: "that is (as ye would say), the goddesses of destinie" (vgl. Delius' Shakespeare, II, 300). Aus Holinshed hat Shakespeare das Wort übernommen, aber den Druckern der Folios war es offenbar fremd, denn sie setzten dafür *weyward*. Erst Theobald stellte auf Grund des Berichtes Holinsheds die Lesung *weird* her, und erst von da aus scheint der Ausdruck wieder in weiteren Gebrauch gekommen zu sein, aber ohne das Zeichen seines Ursprungs, die schottische Schreibung mit *ei*, aufzugeben.' Luick, *Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 185–186 (*Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie* XVII).

615. **wērige mid wērigum.** Cf. l. 360, note.

616. **biterne.** Professor Hart suggests **blitterne**; so also Sievers (*PBB.* X, 496). But cf. *Chr.* 765: *biterne stræl.*

619<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 1086; *Gen.* 1669: *folces ræsuan.*

620. **wundor æfter wundre.** So *Beow.* 931. Grein and Wülker have no punctuation after **gesiehðe**, all other Edd. a period.

622. **folcræd fremede.** Cf. *Beow.* 3006: *folcræd fremede*, of Beowulf. — **tō friðe hogode.** Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 12) suggests **tō frioðe hogde.**

625. **māga mōde rōf.** So 984. — **mægen.** 'Miracles.' Cf. *Legend*, p. 117, ll. 15–16: *spec tō þinum discipulum be þām mægenum þe þin Lārēow dyde.* Other examples are noted by B.-T., p. 655, but the above have escaped him. Cf. Bonnet, p. 77, ll. 13–14: *ποῖα εἰσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ; φανέρωσόν μοι αὐτάς.* The word in the Latin original which is translated here **mægen** was undoubtedly 'virtus'; cf. *Matt.* VII, 22, 'in nomine tuo, virtutes multas fecimus,' and for other examples see *Mark* VI, 2, 5; *Acts* VIII, 13; *Matt.* XI, 20.

626. **dēormōd on dīgle.** Cf. *Gu.* 925: *dēormōd on dēgle*, of Guthlac in his retreat.

627. **besæton.** The subject is omitted after **ðā**, 'when': 'when often ye held council with the Lord.' See Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 264.

630<sup>a</sup>. So 1200; *Chr.* 509. — **gehwære.** Sievers (*PBB.* X, 485) would regularly replace *gehwære* by the earlier forms *gehwæs*, *gehwæm*; see also *Gram.*, § 341, note 4.

631. **þurh snyttra cræft.** Cf. *El.* 1171: *nū þē God sealde sǣwle sigespēd ond snyttro cræft*; and cf. the compound *snytrucræft*, *Spr.* II, 460.

635. **wynnum wrīdað.** Cf. *Ph.* 237: *wrīdaþ on wynnum*. For the quantity of *wrīdað*, see *Gram.*, § 382. For the relation of *wrīdan* to *wriðan* and *wridian*, cf. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 12.

636. **æðelum ēcne.** So also l. 882. *Ēcne* means 'endowed,' 'teeming'; cf. *tōēacan*, *ēcan*, etc. The usual form of the adjective is *ēacen*, but cf. *Chr.* 1045: *on ēcne eard*, and see Cook's note. *Æðelum* is inst. pl.; cf. *æðelum dēore*, *Dan.* 193; *Ex.* 186; *Beow.* 1949; *æðelum gōd*, *Beow.* 1870.

639<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 815<sup>b</sup>.

640. **godbearn on grundum.** So *Chr.* 682; *godbearn of grundum*, *Chr.* 499; *siððan of grundum godbearn āstāg*, *Chr.* 702. — **hweorfon.** See 1050, and 51, note. Wülker calls attention to *Dan.* 267, *hweorfon*, and *Sat.* 341, *hweorfan*, both preterits.

641. Cf. 809; *Ap.* 32, 77<sup>a</sup>; *Jud.* 350: *swegles drēamas*.

642<sup>b</sup>. So 1476<sup>b</sup>; *Gu.* 898.

645<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 357, 1190.

646<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 909, 1435; *El.* 1170–1171 (above, 631, note).

647<sup>a</sup>. So *Gen.* 14.

649<sup>a</sup>. **oor ond ende.** Cf. 556<sup>b</sup>, note. Vowels are geminated to indicate length also in *faa*, 1593, 1599, and *taan*, 1099.

650. **on wera gemōte.** But the Greek (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 9) reads *ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ*, the exact opposite of the Anglo-Saxon.

652–653. **sīde herigeas folc unsmæte.** So *Men.* 5<sup>b</sup>–6<sup>a</sup>.

652–660. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to these lines. After the response of Andrew, 648–651, the Greek passes on to the account of the Twelve Apostles in the temple, 661 ff. The passage appears to be an invention of the poet's, based upon such allusions in the New Testament as *Matt.* IX, 35–36. The verses immediately following these give an account of the Twelve Apostles (*Matt.* X, 1–5). The phrase in bold *ōðer*, 656, is not specific but is an allusion to the Lord's method of preaching from house to house.

654. Cf. *Gu.* 979: *wolde hyrcnigan hālgas lāra*.

659. **symble.** *Spr.* II, 518, glosses as adv., but *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> would change to *symbol*, 'festivitas.' But it is plainly adverb here.

661. **sīgedēma.** The only other occurrence of the word is *Chr.* 1060.

664. **ellefne.** Kluge (*PBB.* VI, 397) remarks that this is the only occurrence of the numeral *ellefne* in Anglo-Saxon verse. The metrical stress here falls upon the first syllable of the word; but the modern accentuation and the phonetic history of the word, *ellefne* < *andleofan*, would indicate that the first syllable was normally unstressed.

665<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 883; *Ex.* 232: *.x. hund geteled tīrēadigra*.

667. **tempel Dryhtnes.** The Greek reads (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10): *εἰς λεπὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν*, i.e. into a temple of the Gentiles. Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Hebrew temple at Jerusalem.

668. **hēah ond horngēap.** The half-line, and the description in general, is taken from *Beow.* 82, where it applies to the great hall, Heort. The word *horn*

'gable,' 'pinnacle,' is several times used in descriptive names of buildings; see *hornsæl*, 1158, also *horngestrēon*, *Ruin* 23, *hornreced*, *Beow.* 704; B.-T., p. 553, cites *ofer hornpīc temples*, 'supra pinnam templi,' *Luke* IV, 9. The compound here probably means 'wide-gabled'; see Miller, *Anglia* XII, 397. But Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'an Zinnen reich'; *Spr.* II, 98, *pinnaculis prominens*. The meaning 'prominent, high' for *gēap* is supported by *Sal.* 510–511: *munt is hine ymbutan, gēap gylden weal*; see further B.-T., p. 366.

**669. huscworde.** The only occurrence of the compound; translate 'with mocking word.' *Husc*, *hucs* as simplex, meaning 'scorn, mockery,' occurs several times. Grein, *Spr.* II, 112, suggests *us worde?* for *huscworde*; cf. Trautmann's emendation in the variant readings. But the MS. reading fits the context admirably. Kemble has only a comma after *gewlitedod*.

**670. ealdorsācerd.** Professor Hart calls my attention to the fact that this compound, of which Grein and B.-T. record but this single occurrence, occurs frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels. For examples, see Cook, *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, s.v. *aldorsacerd*, p. 9.

**671. herme hispan.** Cf. *Chr.* 1120: *hysptun hearmcwidum*.

**672. wrōht webbade.** Cf. *El.* 308: *inwitþancum wrōht webbedan*.

**680. ēadiges orhlytte æðeling cýðað.** The nom. pl. *orhlytte* refers back to the idea contained in *earme*, 676, and in the two following lines. The special Teutonic color in this passage is the addition of the poet; the Greek text says merely 'O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the son of God?' (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 12 ff.) The idea contained in 'son of God' is amplified by the poet in that it is made political. *Æðeling*, 680, is the technical word for the son of a king and is so used regularly throughout the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*; *ellþeodiges*, 678, means 'a stranger,' 'an unlineal claimant,' and *būtan lēodrihte*, 679, 'contrary to the accepted custom of the people.' Gm. and B. have no punctuation after *hýrað*, 679, and a comma after *orhlytte*, 680.

**683.** Cf. *Wid.* 4<sup>b</sup>–5: him from Myrgingum æðelo onwōcon.

**684. on þysse folcsceare.** So *El.* 402; *Gen.* 2680, 2829.

**686. hāmsittende.** The compound occurs also in *Gen.* 1815; *Dan.* 687.

**688<sup>a</sup>.** So *El.* 381; *Whale* 3.

**691. suna Iōsēphes.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 78, l. 15: ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος. Did the τοῦ τέκτονος seem too irreverent to the poet? See *Mark* VI, 3.

**693. dugoð dōmgeorne.** So l. 878; *El.* 1290; a dignified phrase, and in *Elene* applied to the righteous at the day of judgment. In *Andreas*, however, with epic freedom, it refers to the wicked persecutors of the Lord. The word *dugoð* is not usually plural, but is so in the above three passages and in *Ex.* 546.

**695<sup>a</sup>.** So also *Jul.* 506.

**696. þegna hēape.** Cf. *Beow.* 1627: ḡryðlic þegna hēap; *El.* 549: þā cwōm þegna hēap; cf. l. 870, *Ap.* 9. See *NED.*, 'forlorn hope.'

**696–705.** In the Greek (Walker, p. 354): 'And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all his Godhead. And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see; for, behold, he has persuaded us.'

**698. dīgol land.** So *Beow.* 1357, of the dwelling-place of Grendel.

700. **cræfta**. Appositive to **wundra**, 699.

706-707<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 920<sup>b</sup>-922: swylce self cyning, of brýdbūre bēahhorda weartryddode tīrfæst getrume micle.

707. **getrume mycle**. The Greek version is specific: *τριάκοντα ἄνδρες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τέσσαρες ἀρχιερεῖς* (Bonnet, p. 79, l. 10).

711. **tō sēgon**. The alliteration is on **tō**, which must consequently be taken as adverb, not as the unstressed element of a verb compound.

712. **wundor āgræfene**. **Wundor** is acc. pl., appositive to **anlicnesse**, 713 cf. **wundor**, 736. There is no necessity, therefore, for the compound **wundor āgræfene**, 'wondrously carved,' of *Spr.* II, 752, and the translations, or for Cosijn's emendation, **wundrum** (*PBB.* XXI, 12).

In the Greek version, these **wundor āgræfene** are not the cherubim and seraphim, but two sphinxes: *εἶδεν γλυφὰς σφίγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐξ εὐωνύμων* (Bonnet, p. 79, ll. 11-12). Since the whole episode is omitted in the *Legend* it is impossible to tell what the reading of the Latin original of the poem was. The Greek version, however, compares the two sphinxes to the cherubim and the seraphim: *ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμοιά εἰσιν τοῦ χερουβίμ καὶ τοῦ σεραφίμ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ* (Bonnet, p. 79, l. 14-15). Probably only the allusion to the cherubim and seraphim was taken over into the Latin version.

717-719. Translate 'This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i.e. heaven] among the dwellers there.' There is nothing in the *Πράξεις* corresponding to this statement that the cherubim and seraphim are the highest of the angels, or to the further description of the cherubim and seraphim, ll. 719-724. The grouping of the seraphim and cherubim together is not derived from the Bible, as the seraphim are mentioned only once there (*Isaiah* VI, 7) and then not in connection with the cherubim. The two names, however, were early associated in Hebrew tradition; the *Book of Enoch*, for example, groups 'the seraphim, the cherubim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power' as the highest of the hosts of heaven. See Ryle, s.v. 'cherub,' in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible* (New York, 1901). Cf. also Dionysius the Areopagite (4th century), who groups the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones as the highest of the heavenly hierarchies; see *NED.*, s.v. 'cherub.' Note also the *Te Deum*, 'Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant.' These allusions are all closely related to *Isaiah* VI, 1-3, a vision of the Lord in his glory. Interesting paraphrases of these verses, closer to the original than the passage in *Andreas*, are to be found in *El.* 739-749 and *Chr.* 385-415.

721. So *Ph.* 600; cf. fore onsýne ēces dēman, *El.* 745; *Gu.* 1161; *Chr.* 837.

725<sup>a</sup>. **hīw**. The meaning here is 'countenance,' 'appearance,' not as Grimm, p. 114, translates, 'familia,' as in *hīwræden*, *hīred*, etc. — 725<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 247.

726<sup>b</sup>. So 1026<sup>b</sup>; *Ap.* 87. 'The thanes, angels, in heaven.' For this meaning of **wuldor**, cf. l. 356, note. With **þegnas**, cf. *Chr.* 283: *Crīstes þegnas*, 'angels' *Gen.* 15: *þegnas þrymfæste* = *engla þrēatas*. Holthausen, *PBB.* XVI, 550, emends **þegnas** to **þegna** in order to make it synonymous with **hāligra**, l. 725; but **þegnas** may as well be taken as appositive to **hīw**.

728. fore **þām heremægene**. See l. 707, note. The phrase occurs again in ll. 1298, 1650; *El.* 170.



730. **on wera gemange.** Simons, p. 57, would read **wera on gemange.** Cf. *Jul.* 528: *magum in gemonge*; *Beow.* 1643: *mōdig on gemonge.* The more usual construction, however, is *prep. + gen. + acc.*, e.g. *El.* 96: *on clānra gemang*; *El.* 108: *on fēonda gemang*; *El.* 118: *on gramra gemang*; *Jul.* 420: *on clānra gemong.*

732. **wlitig of wāge.** Cf. *Beow.* 1662: *ic on wāge geseah wlitig hangian*; *Rid.* XV, 12: *wlitig on wāge.*

733-734. Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after *sōðcwīdum*, Grimm a comma; but Wülker's punctuation, which I have followed in the text, gives undoubtedly the best reading. The alliteration *s : sc*, which led Grein (see variants) to suppose that the text was corrupt here, is not in accordance with the use of the best early verse, but it is found more or less frequently in the later verse; see Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, § 18, 3; Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, 50.

734<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 286: *hwæt his æþelu sȳn.* Like *hæt* and *his* (see ll. 7, 248, 717, 751, 906, 1199), *hwæt* is often used without agreement in gender or number. Cf. German *es sind*, MnE. 'there is, there are.'

735-737. **dorste, āhlēop, hē.** The number changes from the plural (*syndon*, 720; *standað*, *herigað*, 722; *þegnas*, 726) to the singular here. In this the poem probably followed its source, as in the *Πράξις* only one of the sphinxes (whose place is taken here by the cherubim and seraphim, see 712, note) is represented as acting: 'Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man.' Walker, p. 354.

736<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 866; cf. l. 564, note. **Wundor** is subject of **dorste**; cf. l. 712.

737. **frōd fyrngeweorc.** So *Ph.* 84, of the grove in which the Phoenix dwelt. The antecedent of **hē** should be, grammatically, **fyrngeweorc**, but the poet makes the pronoun masculine by personification.

739. Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after **dynede.**

740-741. Grein and Wülker enclose **wrætlīc . . . ongin** within parentheses, the other Edd. set off the clause by commas or periods.

742. **septe sācerdas.** Cf. *El.* 528-530:

ðus mec fæder mīn    on fyrndagum  
umweaxenne    wordum lārde,  
septe sōðcwīdum.

Also *Dan.* 445-446:

Hyssas heredon drihten    for þām hǣðenan folce,  
Septon [MS. stepton] hīe sōðcwīdum.

Grimm's *sewan*, accepted by Grein, *Spr.* II, 433, we may safely disregard; the stem-consonant of the word is fixed by the three passages as *p*. The meaning also, 'instruct,' 'teach,' is the appropriate meaning in all three passages. But the form and derivation of the word are not certain. Zupitza, *Elene*, p. 73, glosses as *seppan* or *sēpan*?; B.-T. as *sēpan* (*seppan*?); Simons, as Zupitza; Sweet, *Dict.* does not record the word. Baskervill, p. 76, gives the form as *seppan* — 'a denominative verb, akin to *sap*, root \**sapa*, Goth. \**sapjan*, OHG. *sewen*, *seppen*, MHG.



seven, "wahrnehmen." Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*<sup>5</sup>, s.v. *saft*, thinks an ultimate connection of the above words with Latin *sapio* is probable. B.-T., p. 866, gives the same explanation of the word as Baskervill. Swaen, *Eng. Stud.* XX, 149, brings Goth. *siponeis*, *siponjan*, into the discussion: '*Sepan*, I think, can neither be proved nor defended. *Seppan* might be explained, while sticking to the stem to which I have tried to reduce the word, by adopting a prehistoric Anglo-Saxon \**sepjan*, by which form the transitive meaning of *septe*, in contradistinction to the intransitive of *siponjan* = "schüler sein," might be explained.' Swaen's explanation seems the most probable.

743. **witig werede.** 'It [i.e. *stān*], sagacious, held them in check.' Cosijn's emendation *wenede* is based upon l. 1682; but the reading of the MS. is supported by l. 1053, **wordum werede.**

744. **earmra gepohta.** Perhaps it is best to take the genitive as dependent on **searowum**: 'Ye are wretched, deceived by the snares of your (own) miserable thoughts.' **Earmra gepohta** would thus be parallel to **mōde gemyrde**, 746. *Dicht.* translates 'Ihr seid unselig, elender Gedanken'; K., 'ye are rude of poor thoughts.'

746. **mōde gemyrde.** Cf. *Jul.* 412: *mōd gemyrred*; *Chr.* 1143: *egsan myrde*. — **gē mon cīgað.** Cosijn's admirable emendation is supported by the reading of the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 80, l. 9: λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπον.

747<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 744.

748<sup>b</sup>. So *Az.* 141<sup>b</sup>. Final **h** is also lost in **faa**, 1593, 1599.

750<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 1040; *El.* 729.

752. The whole line occurs *El.* 398.

755. Cf. *Jul.* 76: *welum weorþian*, *wordum lofian*.

756. **Hābrahāme.** Although this name occurs three times with initial *H*, 756, 779, 793, and only once without it, 753, the alliteration is always vocalic.

757. This allusion is not in the Greek version. See *Gen.* XXII, 17-18; *Matt.* I.

759. **open, orgete.** So *Chr.* 1116.

761-762. Bourauel, p. 79, sees in these lines a recollection of *Æneid* II, 1. See l. 1125, note. But a similar situation here is naturally expressed in similar terms.

764<sup>b</sup>. Grein encloses the half-line in parentheses, the other Edd. set it off only by commas. In its stylistic effect the sentence is parenthetic and exclamatory; see my study of 'The Parenthetic Exclamation in Old English Poetry,' *MLN.* XX, 33-37.

765-766. **drȳcræftum; scingelācum.** On the element **drȳ-** in **drȳcræftum**, cf. l. 34, note. Both words, **scingelācum** and **drȳcræftum**, have evil connotation. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 101: þonne se dēofol cymð þe āna cann eall þæt yfel and ealle þā drȳcræftas, þe æfre ænig man æfre geleornode; and for the meaning of *scin*, cf. *Whale* 31-32:

swā bið scinna þēaw,  
dēofla wīse,    þæt hī drohtende  
þurh dyrne meah    duguðe beswīcað.

For the quantity of *scin(n)*, cf. Sievers, *Eng. Stud.* VIII, 157. Cf. *Jul.* 301, *sægde hȳ drȳas wæron*, the devil's charge against *Crīstes begnas*, l. 299.

**769. wēoll on gewitte.** Cf. *Beow.* 2882: wēoll of gewitte; *Metr.* VIII, 45: ac hit on witte weallende byrnð; *Ph.* 191: þurh gewittes wylm. Sievers, *Anglia* I, 579, calls attention to this as a set poetical phrase. Cf. also *Beow.* 2331: brēost innan wēoll; and *An.* 1019, 1709. Wyrnum āweallen, *Chr.* 625, has reference to the body after death. — **weorm blædum fāg.** Grein, *Dicht.*, 'der Wurm dem Glücke feind.' The figure appears to be original with the poet. Did he have in mind the fire-drake (cf. **brandhāta**, l. 768) of the *Beowulf*? The form **weorm** for *wurm*, *wyrm*, is exceptional; cf. *Gram.*, § 72, note, and *Ap.* 95. Final **g** for **h** occurs also in **befealg**, 1326; and in **feorg**, *Ap.* 58; **þurg**, *Ap.* 13, 63, 72; cf. *Gram.*, § 223, note 1, and see above, l. 107, note.

**770. ælfæle.** For **æl-** = *eal-*, cf. **æلميhtig**, **Ælmyrcan**, **ælwihste**, etc. Cf. *Rid.* XXIV, 9: ealfelo attor. — **orcnāwe.** Cf. *El.* 229: Ðā wæs orcnāwe idese sīðfæt.

**776<sup>a</sup>. grēne grundas.** Cf. l. 798, note. — **776<sup>b</sup>.** So *Gu.* 133, 696; *Chr.* 1670.

**777. lārum lādan.** It seems best to take **lārum** as an instrumental adverb, 'according to instructions.' Kemble translates 'in doctrines to lead'; Hall, 'with their blest-lore bear.' *Gn.*, *Dicht.*, and Root have nothing corresponding to **lārum lādan**.

**778.** Kemble has a semicolon after **worde**.

**781<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Gu.* 1073: ēce æلميhtig ærist gefremede . . . Ðā hē of dēaðe ārās; *Ph.* 495: þonne æriste ealle gefremmaþ men on moldan.

**784. frōde fyrnweotan.** Cf. *Beow.* 2123: *frōdan fyrnwitan*, of Æschere; *El.* 343: *frōd fyrnweota*, of David.

**788<sup>a</sup>.** So *El.* 233. — **Mambre.** See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

**789<sup>a</sup>.** So *Chr.* 701, 904; *Rid.* XXXV, 9.

**792<sup>a</sup>.** So also *Jul.* 582.

**795. snēome of slæpe þām fæstan.** Cf. *Chr.* 888–889: hātað hȳ upp āstandan **snēome of slæpe þȳ fæstan**. The allusion in the *Christ* is to the day of judgment. Cf. 792 with *Chr.* 888. Cf. also *Panther*, 40–42: þonne ellenrōf ūp āstondeð . . . **snēome of slæpe**.

**795–796.** Note the expanded lines here. Grein and Baskervill have only a comma after **fæstan**.

**797.** Cf. *Cædmon's Hymn* 7–9: þā middangeard monncynnes weard, ēce drihten æfter tēode firum foldan, frēa æلميhtig.

**798.** Cf. *Chr.* 1129: eorþan ealgrēne ond ūprodor; see l. 776.

**799. hwær.** Probably the word should be **hwæt**; cf. l. 262, note, especially *Chr.* 574. Hall's translation is hardly allowable: 'and where the Lord God lived who laid their foundations.'

**800.** Cf. *Chr.* 343: þæt hē ūs ne lāte leng ōwihste.

**801–802.** Again two expanded lines. Cf. 795–796.

**802. forlætan.** The spelling **æ** appears for **ē** also in **mæðelhægende**, l. 609. **Forlætan** is a preterit, **wunigean** an infinitive dependent on it.

**803. ædre gecȳðan.** So *Beow.* 354.

**805.** So also *Jul.* 268; *El.* 57, 1128.

**806.** Cf. l. 55; *Jul.* 153: ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor.

**807<sup>b</sup>.** Also *Jul.* 66.

808<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 1091, with the same meaning.

810. *willum nēotan*. Shipley, p. 50, translates ll. 809–810 ‘to seek in peace the joys of heaven and there forever blissfully enjoy them.’ The MS. has not *bær*, however, in 810, but *þæs*, as in *Chr.* 1341–1343:

hāteð h̄y gesunde    ond gesēnade  
on ēþel faran    engla drēames,  
ond þæs tō wīdan fēore    willum nēotan.

Cook, *Christ*, p. 207, suggests reading *bær* in *Chr.* 1343 for *þæs*, as in *An.* 810, following Wülker’s reading. But the two passages support each other in the retention of *þæs*. The antecedent of *þæs* in *An.* 810 is contained in *swegles*, 809, ‘heaven.’ Grein, *Spr.* II, 292, cites this passage, *willum nēotan*, as a so *le* example of *nēotan* followed by the instrumental. But *willum* is inst. adv., not object of *nēotan*. Cf. also *Gu.* 1347–1348: *willum nēotan blādes ond blissa*.

814<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1188.

816. *Ṫā Ṫū āræfnan ne miht*. See *John* XVI, 12.

818<sup>b</sup>. So 1274<sup>b</sup>; *Beow.* 2115; *Gu.* 1251. Cf. l. 1254<sup>b</sup>, note.

819. *herede*. ‘Thus Andreas the entire day praised (or glorified) the teachings of the Holy One.’ The reproduction of the MS. might be read here easily *herede* or *berede*. Wülker reads *berede*, which he derives from *berian*, ‘dar *ber* legen,’ ‘an den tag legen.’ In support of this word he cites *Dan.* 142: *þā þe mēme* for *werode wīsdōm bereð*. But the parallel is a very doubtful one, and Cosijx *Ṫāijn* (*PBB.* XXI, 13), citing *Dan.* 121, would read *berað* in *Dan.* 142, from infin. *beran*. Baskervill, p. 76, agrees with Wülker: ‘*berian* (a denominative from *bær*) means literally “to make bare”; cf. *benþelu beredon*, *Beow.* 1240.’ Against this interpretation, however, is the use in 873, 998, and especially the invariable rule that demands double alliteration when the second foot of the half-line contains two full stresses (that is, the D-type of verse, Sievers, *PBB.* X, 304).

820. The disciples are already asleep; see l. 464.

823<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Rid.* III, 2: under *ȳþa geþræc*; *Rid.* XXIII, 7: *atol ȳþa geþræc*. Cf. 352<sup>a</sup>.

824<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Men.* 39, 217, *Gu.* 662: on Godes wære; *Beow.* 27: on Frēan wære; *Beow.* 3109: on Ṫæs Waldendes wære.

826. ‘Until sleep overcame them, weary of the sea.’ But we are told in 820 that Andrew is asleep, and were told in 464 that the disciples are asleep. Apparently this line, almost a repetition of 820, should state again that the disciples have fallen asleep. If so, something seems to be omitted. Perhaps we should read *sāwērigne*, to agree with *lēofne*, 825<sup>a</sup>.

828 ff. That practically nothing of the narrative is lost here may be seen from the corresponding passage of the Greek version: ‘And Jesus said to his angels = Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man-eaters; and having laid them on the ground, return to me. And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus: and He went up into the heavens with his angels.’ (Walker, p. 356.) Baskervill, p. 76, attempting to arrange the passage as it is preserved in the MS., would translate as follows: ‘Through motion through the air he came

into the land, to the city, from which then the king of the angels arose to go away from him in blessedness on the upway, to visit his native seat'—a translation which satisfies neither the demands of the text nor the sense of the passage.

In order to keep the same line-numbering as Grimm and Wülker, the hypothetical missing line is disregarded in the numbering.

830<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 741.

832<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 606; *El.* 507; *Ph.* 374.

834. **his nīðhetum**. Grein, *Dicht.*, 'vor dem Burgwalle in der Nähe seiner Feinde'; but apparently **nēh** must apply both to **burhwealle** and **nīðhetum**, as translated by Hall, 'near the wall of the borough, near his fierce enemies.' Cf. the construction with **cunnian**, 125-133, note.—**nihtlangne fyrst**. So l. 1309; *Beow.* 528; *El.* 67; *Ex.* 208.

835. **dægchandle**. See 372, note.

836. Cf. *Gu.* 1262: **scān scīrwered**, **scadu sweþredon**; *Ex.* 113: **sceado swiðredon**.

837. **wonn under wolcnum**. So *Beow.* 651; *Gu.* 1254; *Vision of the Cross* 55. 'Wann, dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty-seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse]. Unlike *sweart* it is commonly used in a literal sense. It is thus applied to a variety of objects,—to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy heights overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc.' Mead, "Color in OE. Poetry," *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 187.—**wederes blāest**. There are two words of the form **blāest**: (1) as in *Ex.* 290: **bæþweges blāest**, 'the sea blast or breeze,' cf. *blāwan*, 'blow'; (2) the word in the present passage, which appears also in l. 1552, cognate with *blāse*, 'torch,' 'fire,' 'flame.' Cf. *fýres blāest*, *Ph.* 15; *līges blāest*, *Ph.* 434. For the meaning of **wederes**, cf. 372, 1697, note. Kemble mistranslates, 'then came the storm-blast'; but Root, correctly, 'then the torch of heaven.'

840<sup>b</sup>. So l. 1306; *Beow.* 222, of the sea-headlands.

841. **ymbe hārne stān**. 'Seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse] **hār** is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color.' Mead, *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 190. Cf. *Beow.* 887, 2553, 2744: **under hārne stān**; *Beow.* 1415: **ofer hārne stān**.

842. **tigelfāgan trafu**. The word **tigel**, Lat. *tegula*, was borrowed with the object from Latin civilization. 'Tiles, mortar, and the like were unknown to the German; and he seems to have been long in learning to use actual timber. Wattled work, twigs or flexible branches woven together, seemed to give enough stability for all his purposes; and even on the column of Marcus Aurelius what we may take to be contemporary German houses are "of cylindrical shape with round vaulted roof, no window, and rectangular door; they appear to be woven of rushes or twigs, and are bound about with cords." Tacitus says [*Germ.* 16] the sole material for German houses of his time is wood.' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 94. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 286-287, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*<sup>8</sup>, pp. 122-123, for a list and discussion of the

architectural terms taken over from the Mediterranean nations by the peoples of the North. The word **tigel** does not appear, however, to have the same poetic connotation as *stān* in Anglo-Saxon verse. It is used in composition only in the present passage, and as simplex occurs only once, *Ruin* 31: *tigelum scēadeð* *hrōstbēages hrōf* (MS. *rof*). See 1236, note.

843. **windige weallas**. So *Beow.* 572, where the phrase applies more aptly to the sea-headlands.

845<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 1951; *Jul.* 452; *Ap.* 32; *sīðe gesēceð*, *Chr.* 62; *sīðe gesēca* ~~—~~ *n*, *Chr.* 146; *sīðe gesōhton*, *Gen.* 2425.

848<sup>a</sup>. So *Ap.* 78<sup>r</sup>. — **bīryhte**. The second element of the compound has much the value of MnE. 'right' in similar phrases. Cf. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, 'bīryhte', i.e. *ryhte bī*, "dicht bei," wie *atrichte*, nl. nabij und bijna, proparoxytonon. *Rih* ~~—~~ *te*, "gerade," auch in *bērrihte*. This is the only occurrence of the word.

850. **wigend weccēan**. So *Beow.* 3024.

852. **gystran-dæge**. The first element appears in the forms *gystran* and *gyrstan*, but never *gyrstran*. See the dictionaries, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 1, 13, for examples. — Cf. *El.* 1200: *ofer geofenes strēam*.

853. **ārvelan**. See 383, note.

855. **waldend werðēode**. Grein's emendation *werðēoda* is supported by *Chr.* 714: *waldend werðēoda*, and by the fact that the plural is generally used to indicate people, or nations in general, the singular, usually with a demonstrative *we*, to indicate a specific nation. But the singular is also found in the general sense, cf. *Metr.* IX, 21: *ofer werðēode*, and *An.* 573. The interpretation which retains the MS. reading as a verb is plainly impossible.

855–856. Cf. Bonnet, p. 85, ll. 9–10: 'Επέγνων σου κύριε τὴν καλὴν λαλίαν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐφάνερωσάς μοι ἐαυτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώρισά σε.

859 ff. Brooke, p. 420, translating this passage, remarks: 'And this poet [of the *Andreas*] who has a special turn for various incident, invents for them a dream in which they are brought into the heavenly Paradise.' But the whole episode is found in both the Greek version and the Latin fragment (Bonnet, p. 86 ff.). See *Introd.*, p. xxiii.

861<sup>a</sup>. So *Hy.* IV, 77; with other forms of the verb, *Jul.* 181, *Ps.* CXVIII 152.

864. **feðerum hrēmige**. Cf. *Ph.* 86: *feðrum strong*; *Ph.* 100: *feðrum wlonc* *Ph.* 123: *feðrum snell*. *Feðer*, 'feather,' by metonymy becomes 'wing' in the plural; the same development takes place in the Latin *penna*. Grimm, p. 119, would read *feðerum hrēmig* (citing *El.* 29), 'dewy-feathered'; but the reading of the MS. is better, 'exultant in their wings.' Cf. l. 1699.

866. **flyhte on lyfte**. So *Ph.* 123, 340.

868<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Metr.* XXVI, 63: *lissum lufode liðmonna frēan*. — **in lofe wunedon**. Cf. *Chr.* 102–103: *in þām ūplican engla drēame mid Sōðfæder symle wunian*.

869. **swegles gong**. Literally, 'the circuit of the heavens,' cf. ll. 208, 455 and elsewhere the phrase occurs frequently. In the present context the phrase is inappropriate; Grein's *ond* and Cook's *geond* are inadequate attempts to bring it into agreement with the context. Simons, s.v. *gang*, suggests *swēges gong*. But the most probable explanation is that the words are taken bodily

from stock phraseology for the sake of the rime with **sang**, and are not perfectly fitted into their context. Cf. l. 303, note.

871<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 164, of the Phoenix.

873<sup>a</sup>. So also l. 998; *Jul.* 560.

874<sup>a</sup>. So 1151<sup>a</sup>; *Whale* 84; *Chr.* 405. — **drēam wæs on hyhte**. Cf. ll. 239, 637. The phrasing is pleonastic, and one might prefer Simons' reading *hyhðe*, except that again (cf. 869, note) the rime may have determined the use of **on hyhte**.

876<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 283.

878. **þær wæs Dāuid mid**. Walker, p. 357: 'We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the saints; and David praised Him with a song upon his harp.'

879. **Essāges sunu**. The form of the name in the Vulgate is 'Isai,' cf. *1 Samuel* (= *1 Kings*) XVI, passim. For the development of the consonant between the two vowels, cf. *Achagia*, *Ap.* 16; *Gabrihel*, *Chr.* 201; *Ismahel*, *Gen.* 2286. *Israhel* and similar forms occur frequently.

882–885. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, would put a semicolon or a period after **standan**, l. 882, and remove the punctuation after **hæleð**, l. 883, thus making l. 883 appositive to **þrymsittende** and **hēahenglas**. Stylistically, however, it is better to make l. 883 refer back to **ēowic**, l. 882, i.e. the Twelve Apostles; **tirēadige hæleð** should also refer to the Apostles, cf. l. 2. The justification for this punctuation Cosijn finds in the Greek version; but it should be noticed that the number twelve is used first of the Apostles and then of the ministering angels: καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστηκότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑμῶν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς. (Bonnet, p. 86, ll. 7–9.) The Latin fragment is imperfect in the corresponding passage, but it evidently had the same readings.

885. **ðām bið hæleða well**. 'A well defined example of the demonstrative **se** with genitive occurs in *An.* 885 . . . "Well is it for those of men who may enjoy those delights." ' Shipley, p. 93. See 262; *Ap.* 25.

887. Cf. *Jul.* 641: **wigena wyn ond wuldres þrym**; *Gu.* 1338: **winemæga wyn in wuldres þrym**. The same assonance occurs in *Chr.* 71; cf. also 957–958, where it holds together halves of two different lines.

891. **gangap**. Grein, *Spr.* I, 368, glosses this word as singular and translates, *Dicht.*, 'wenn er von hinnen geht.' But the plural form of the MS. agrees with the context; Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 274, points out that the subject is omitted after **þonne**.

892. Cf. *El.* 874<sup>b</sup>–875: **þā ðær Iudas wæs on mōdsefan miclum geblissod**.

895. **onmunan swā mycles**. Cf. *Beow.* 2640: **hē . . . onmunde ūsic mārða, onmunan**, 'to regard as worthy,' with accusative of person and genitive of the thing. Cf. Shipley, p. 53.

897. **God Dryhten**. See 494, note.

899. Baskervill has a semicolon after **gestāh**.

900. One expects an object for **ongitan**, l. 901: **þēh ic þē on yðfare?** Cf. l. 922.

904<sup>a</sup>. An epic formula; cf. *Wid.* 9: **ongon þā worn spreca**; *Beow.* 530–531: **Hwæt þū worn fela . . . ymb Breca spræce**; *Beow.* 3094: **worn eall gespræc**.

906. **frōfre gāst.** So l. 1684; *El.* 1036, 1105; *Chr.* 207, 728; *Jul.* 724; *Jud.* 83. The phrase is a translation of the N.T. *παράκλητος* (cf. *John* XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 7), and is thus defined by Ælfric (*Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 322): Hē is gehāten on Grēciscum gereorde ‘Paracletus,’ þæt is, ‘Frōforgāst,’ forðī ðe hē frē-frað þā drēorian, þe heora synna behrēowsiað, and sylð him forgyfenysse hiht, and heora unrōtan mōd gelīðegað. *John* XIV, 26, *Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus*, is translated in the WS. Gospels by *sē hāliga frōfre gāst*, but in the other passages *Paracletus* is rendered by *Frefriend*; cf. Cook’s *Christ*, p. 100, and Bright, *Gospel of St. John*, p. 160.

907<sup>b</sup>–909. Cf. ll. 979<sup>b</sup>–980; 1153<sup>b</sup>–1154. The passage is plainly a reminiscence of homiletic phrasing.

909. See 294, note, 1153, 1539, 1568; and, for other examples of *tō* with *sēcan*, see Einkenkel, *Streifzüge durch die mitttelenglische Syntax*, p. 202.

910. Cf. *Gu.* 1028: *sibþan hē mē fore ēagum onsȳne wearð.* Grein, *Spr.* II, 352, glosses only the form *onsȳn*, noun, but B.-T., p. 758, glosses correctly *onsȳn*, noun, and *onsȳne*, adj.; cf. *gesȳne*, l. 526, etc. The only occurrences of *onsȳne*, adj., are these two passages in the *Andreas* and the *Guthlac*.

912. **þurh cnihtes hād.** ‘In the form, character, of a boy.’ Cf. *Sat.* 495: *þurh fæmnan hād*; *El.* 72, *Ap.* 27: *on weres hāde.* Cf. Bonnet, p. 87: *uenit ad eum dominus Iesus Christus in effigia pulcerrimi pueri.*

914<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 407: *Wes þū, Hroðgār, hāl.* A regular formula of greeting; cf. MnE. *wassail*. — **willgedryht.** Cf. *willgeofa*, 62, 1282; *wilgesith*, *Beow.* 23, *Gen.* 2003; *wilboda*, *Gu.* 1220; *wilgedryht* occurs also *Ph.* 342.

915. **ferðgefēonde.** So 1584, *El.* 174, 990.

917. **grynsmiðas.** The only occurrence of the compound. For the meaning of the first element, cf. *Beow.* 930: *Fela ic lāðes gebād, gryнна æt Grendle.* Cf. l. 86, note.

926–935. The Lord’s rebuke to Andrew is in the original; see *Introd.*, p. xxv.

930. **þing gehēgan.** ‘Accomplish the meeting,’ i.e. the meeting with Matthew. Cf. 157; and *Ph.* 493: *seonað gehēgan.*

932. **wēga gewinn.** Grein first read **wēga gewinn**, but Gn.<sup>2</sup> changes to **wega gewinn**, ‘labor viarum.’ I find no parallel to **wega gewinn**; but with **wēga gewinn** cf. l. 197, and *Beow.* 1469: *under ȳða gewinn.* — 932<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 945: *Wite ðū þe gearwor*; *Jul.* 556: *wiste hē þi gearwor.*

936. **ræd ædre ongit.** ‘Straightway learn my will.’ Hall remarks, ‘This hemistich is a crux of the first water; it probably means, “Be not afraid, but maintain your composure.”’ There is no difficulty in interpreting the passage if one takes **ræd** in the sense of ‘command,’ ‘counsel,’ ‘will,’ as in l. 1498. The lines 939<sup>b</sup> ff. then complete the meaning of this half-line.

938<sup>b</sup>. So 1721<sup>b</sup>; *Gu.* 608; *Chr.* 1515; *Jud.* 348; *Gen.* 1015.

939<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *cræft ond miht*, *Dan.* 328, *Az.* 44, *Chr.* 218.

940<sup>a</sup>. So 1038, 1065; *Beow.* 1928.

942. **hēafodmāgan.** The MS. reading is **-magū = -magum**, and is evidently due to inadvertence; the mistake might easily occur after **-dolgum** and preceding **-nettum**, MS. **-nettū**. The reading of Grimm, Kemble, and Grein (so also B.-T., p. 514, Simons, p. 74), **hēafodmāgan**, ‘cognatus principalis vel proximus.’



looks back to l. 940, **þīn brōðor**. The form **hēafodmāga** does not occur, however, except in this emended passage; but *hēafodmæg* is found *Gen.* 1200, 1605, and note especially *Beow.* 588: *þīnum brōðrum, hēafodmægum*. As simplex, *māga* is common, and cf. *wuldormāga*, *Gu.* 1067. If we read *hēafodmāgu* with Baskervill and Wülker, the compound would mean 'leader, captain,' which neither describes the relation existing between Andrew and Matthew nor takes sufficient account of l. 940<sup>b</sup>. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to l. 940<sup>b</sup>, or to **hēafodmāgan**; the *Legend*, p. 119, says merely *tō Mathēum þīnum brēþer*. For this passage Professor Hart suggests *hēafodmāga*, gen. pl., appositive to **mānra**, l. 941; but the word is somewhat too dignified to be used appropriately of the Mermedonians.

**946. elþēodigra**. A genitive dependent on **eal þæt mancynn**, 945.

**947. gebundene**. According to strict law of concord the form should be **gebunden**, as Holthausen (see variants) suggests, agreeing with **mancynn**, l. 945. But the plural idea of **elþēodigra** easily passes over into the word that follows it.

**948.** See 356, note.

**949. secgende wæs**. This is the only example of the periphrastic historical preterit in *Andreas*, and, according to Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 50, the only other example in verse is *Beow.* 1105, where, however, the verb is in the optative mood. Apparently *Beow.* 3028: *swā se secg hwata secgende wæs*, has escaped Pessels. In prose the construction is frequent.

**950. ēdre genēðan**. One expects *aldre genēðan*, as in l. 1351, *Ap.* 17; but cf. *Ap.* 50.

**952. dæled**. The change to **dæled** is necessary unless one takes **dælan** as intransitive (cf. l. 5), **þīn hrā** being then the subject of **sceal dælan**.

**954. faran flōde blōd**. The construction is awkward and the statement a bit extravagant. Should one read *faran on foldan blōd*? Cf. Bonnet, p. 88: *ita sanguis tuis fluent in terra sicut aqua*.

**956. slege**. Grimm's reading *slage*, accepted also by Grein, is apparently in deference to the form **mānslaga**, l. 1218. But **slege** is an authentic form; cf. Glossary, and *Jul.* 229: *slege þrowade*.

**957<sup>b</sup>–958<sup>a</sup>. þrym, -gewinn**. See 887, note.

**962. bennum**. The form **bennum** occurs twice in *Andreas*, the form **bendum** the same number of times. Wülker, p. 45, incorrectly ascribes the reading **bendum** to the MS. in l. 1038. Cf. also *Dan.* 435, *benne*; *Jul.* 519, *bennum*. The forms **bendum** and **bennum** are to be regarded as doublets and need not be changed all to **bendum**. See Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 105–106, and Bright, *MLA*. I, 10.

**963. weras wansællige**. So *El.* 478, 977; *Beow.* 105: *wonsæli wer* (i.e. Grendel).

**965.** Grein and Wülker put a semicolon after **gecyðan**, the other Edd. only a comma. After **þehte**, l. 966, Kemble puts a semicolon, the other Edd. a comma. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 13) encloses **rōd wæs āræred** within parentheses, otherwise following Wülker's punctuation. After **āræred** all Edd. have a comma.

**966. gealgan þehte**. So *Ap.* 22. The word *gealga*, literally 'gallows,' is used in all the early Germanic dialects to indicate the cross on which Christ was crucified; cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wört.*<sup>b</sup>, s.v. *galgen*. So also the appropriate verb



which is used for 'crucify' in Anglo-Saxon is *hōn, āhōn*; see *Ap.* 41. Crucifixion does not appear to have been a method of punishment with which the early Germanic peoples were acquainted; hanging, however, was a familiar penalty. 'The punishment of the gallows was widely used by our earliest ancestors, and finds a varied expression in the older literature, — chiefly in Scandinavian poetry. It was by no means so ignoble an exit from life as it is now, and indicated no absolute disgrace like the vile indignities of the hurdle and the swamp. The gallows did not mutilate a body, and its victim had, moreover, a chance to join the Wild Huntsman as he swept by, and so to storm the heights of Heaven and Valhalla. Nay, Odin himself, as he tells us in the *Hávamál*, "hung nine nights on the windy tree," that is upon the gallows; and whether or not this be a Norse version of the Crucifixion, the honorable association remains. . . . Later it was the prerogative of nobles to be beheaded, while common men were hanged; but the poet of *Beowulf* seems to indicate that if the old king, Hrethel, had punished Hæthcyn in the way of blood-feud for the innocent murder of the elder brother Herebeald, it would have been by the gallows. The monarch cannot bring himself to it:

Grievous it is for the gray-hair'd man  
To bide the sight that his son must ride  
Young on the gallows.

ll. 2444-2446.

We may conclude that a gallows-destiny, while not yearned for, and far less noble than death by sword or spear, did not acquire its peculiar disgrace until the middle ages.' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 240-241. See further Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, 1st series, pp. 291-304, in his discussion of *Hávamál*.

967<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 886; cf. *Chr.* 1065-1066: ond sēo hēa rōd, ryht ārāred; *Vision of the Cross*, 44: rōd wæs ic ārāred.

968-969<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1112: and of his sīdan swā some swāt forlētan; *Chr.* 1449-1450<sup>a</sup>: of mīnre sīdan swāt ūt gutun, drēor tō foldan; *Sat.* 545<sup>b</sup>-546<sup>a</sup>: *pār* hē his swāt forlēt feallon tō foldan. See *John XIX*, 34.

970<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 905.

971. *purh blīðne hige*. 'With kindly intent.'

972. This line is variously interpreted. It seems best to take *on ellpēode* as meaning 'in this foreign land,' i.e. in Mermedonia, and *swā* as meaning 'how,' 'according as.' Translate, accordingly, 'I wished therein with kindly intent to give to you an example according as it shall be shown [i.e. the example shall be realized] in this foreign land.' Cf. *Legend*, p. 119, l. 23: ac eall ic hit āræfnede þæt ic ēow ætēowe hwylce gemete gē sculon āræfnan. Of the translators, only Kemble makes *on ellpēode* refer specifically to Mermedonia.

975<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1352, 1507.

978<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 136, 215, 1681; *Jud.* 289; *Hy.* III, 22; cf. also ll. 874, 1192, and see Cook's *Christ*, p. 133.

979. *ēaðmēdum*. The word usually means 'humbly,' but translate here 'joyfully' (Grein, *Dicht.*, 'mit Grossmut'); and cf. *Gu.* 299: *on elne ond on ēaðmēdum*, and *Jud.* 170: *hīe mid ēaðmēdum in forlēton* (Cook, *Judith* (1889), translates

‘in lowly wise they let her in,’ but the context shows that *mid ēaðmēdum* means ‘joyfully’). — *þær is ār gelang*. Cf. *Jul.* 645: *þær* is help gelang; *Seaf.* 121: *þær* is lif gelang; *Chr.* 152, 365: is sēo bōt gelang eall æt þē. See also Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 151: *þonne ūs forlætað ealle ūre woruldfrynd, ne magun hī ūs þonne ænigum gōde, ac bið æt gode ānum gelang eall hwæt wē gefaran sceolon*. See 907–909, note.

980<sup>b</sup>. So 1154<sup>b</sup>.

982<sup>a</sup>. *beaduwe heard*. Cf. *Beow.* 1539: *beadwe heard*.

985. Cf. *Beow.* 320: *stræt wæs stānfāh, stīg wisode*.

986. Grein’s reading *hine* for *him* should probably be accepted here, as there appears to be no reason why the dative should be used.

988<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 2786; *El.* 1104; *Chr.* 802; cf. *of þām wangstede*, *El.* 793; *Panther* 45.

991<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 124.

992. *hlōð*. The word may have here specific meaning. Cf. *Legal Code of Alfred*, ed. Turk, p. 114: *Ðēofas wē hātað oð .VII. men, from .VII. hlōð oð .xxxv., siððan bið here*.

994<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 675: *swylt ealle fornōm*; *Beow.* 1436: *þe hine swylt fornām* (of one of the water-monsters); *El.* 447: *ær þec swylt nime*. Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 4–5, groups together a number of similar expressions, e.g. *Beow.* 1205: *hyne wyrd fornām*; *Beow.* 1080: *wīg ealle fornām*; *El.* 131: *sume wīg fornām*, etc., in all of which he sees personifications of Fate, or Wyrd. But there is probably no conscious figure in the passages. See 613<sup>b</sup>, note; 1531<sup>b</sup>, note.

996. *heorodrēorige*. *Hæleð* must be plural, to agree with *dōmlēase*, l. 995, and the number in l. 994; and the more probable reading is that which holds *hæleð* and the adjective following it together, rather than the adjective and *ðeaðræs*, 995. Grein, *Spr.* II, 70, supposes an uninflected accusative plural, *-drēorig*.

997. *bilwytne*. B.-T., p. 101, explains this word as follows: ‘*bile*, “the beak,” *hwit*, “white,” referring to the *beaks* of young birds, then to their nature’; this remarkable explanation the dictionary ascribes to Junius. It has been frequently repeated, e.g. by Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, p. 96. The *NED.*, s.v. *bilewhit*, states that the etymology is doubtful, but that the word is probably derived from ‘OTeut. \**bili-*, cognate with OIr. *bil*, “good,” “mild,” and found in OHG. *billich*, Mod. Ger. *billig*, “just,” “reasonable,” + *wit*, giving the sense “mild of wit or mind.” Cf. Ger. *bilwiz*, “a good friendly house-spirit,” Grimm, *Germ. Myth.* (ed. 4), III, 137 (Eng. ed. II, 473), and *Billy-blind*. The interpretation “white of bill” like a young bird (from OE. *bile* + *hwit*) was current at an early date, as shown by 12th century spellings; cf. French *bec-jaune*, Ger. *gelb-schnabel*, though these are depreciatory rather than laudatory, and it must be noted that the earlier spellings had not *hwit*, but *wite*.’ The word *Billy-blind* is found in ballads in the sense of a benevolent household spirit; cf. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads* I, 67.

999. *Godes dryhtendōm*. The MS. has *gōd*, but the quantity-mark is frequently found where the vowel is surely short, as e.g. l. 1030<sup>a</sup>, where the MS. has

**gód**, but the context demands **god**. Wülker inclines to the opinion that **gōd** must be taken as noun = *munificentia*, object of **herede**, 'ein begriff der zu **bilwytne fæder** ganz gut passen würde.' But stylistically this reading is very awkward; cf. ll. 722–724, in which the phrasing is exactly similar to the present passage. **Dryhtendōm** as compound occurs only in the present passage; the formation, however, is normal; cf. *dryhtenbealu*, *Gu.* 1323.

999<sup>b</sup>–1000. Kemble reads **dura**, translating 'Soon he attacked the door.' Cf. *Beow.* 721–722:

Duru sōna onarn  
fýrbendum fæst,    syþðan hē hire folmum hrān.

The *Legend*, p. 120, ll. 10–11, reads: *Sē hāлга Andrēas þā ēode tō þæs carcernes duru, and hē worhte Crīstes rōde tācen, and rabe þā dura wæron ontýnede*, agreeing with the Greek version, Walker, p. 358, 'and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord.'

1000. **hāliges gāstes**. The only other occurrence of **gāst** meaning a human being in *Andreas* is l. 1621.

1001<sup>b</sup>. So 1263<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 1268<sup>a</sup>: *ēadig elnes gemyndig*.

1002. **hæle hildedēor**. So *Beow.* 1646, 1816, 3111; *El.* 935: *hæleþ hildedēor*. *Heaðudēor* occurs twice in the *Beowulf*. — **hæðene swæfon**. *Swefan*, 'sleep the sleep of death'; cf. *Beow.* 2060: *æfter billes bite blōdfāg swefeð*; so also *Beow.* 2256, 2746; *Ex.* 495. Cf. also **sweordum āswebban**, l. 72; **wæpnum āswebban**, *Ap.* 69.

1003. **drēore druncne**. Cosijn would emend to *bēore druncne*, following *Beow.* 480 and *Jul.* 486; in both these passages, however, *bēore druncne* is in keeping with the context. In the *Andreas* the context demands **drēore**; cf. l. 1003<sup>b</sup> and **heorodrēorig**, l. 996.

1005<sup>a</sup>. So 1054<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 534; *Gen.* 1550, 1709; *Jud.* 303.

1008<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 322: *gehðum gēomre*.

1010<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 529, *Gu.* 926, *Vision of the Cross* 148; cf. *Jud.* 97–98: *þā wearð . . . hyht genīwod*.

1012. Cf. *Beow.* 1626: *gode þancodon . . . þæs þe hī hyne gesundne gesēon mōston*; *Beow.* 1997: *gode ic þanc secge þæs ðe ic ðē gesundne gesēon mōste*; *Beow.* 1874: *him wæs bēga wēn . . . þæt hīe seoððan gesēon mōston*. The construction in *Beow.* 1874 is mentioned by Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 190, and Bright, *MLN.* II, 82, as affording proof of the use of *gesēon* as intransitive reflexive; Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 140, overlooking the parallel between the passage in *Beowulf* and that in *Andreas*, suggests a number of textual emendations which a comparison of the passages shows to be unjustifiable. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 273, suggested that **hīe**, l. 1012<sup>a</sup>, be taken as the object of **gesēon**, the subject being unexpressed; but, afterwards, *Anglia* XXIII, 299, inclines to accept **gesēon** as intransitive.

1013. **syb wæs gemæne**. Cf. *Beow.* 1857: *sib gemæne*; *Chr.* 581: *sib sceal gemæne*.

1015<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 1235 (of Christ upon the cross).

1016<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Wand.* 42: *clyppe and cysse*; and, for frequent occurrences of the formula in later literature, see Fehr, *Die formelhaften Elemente in den alten englischen Balladen*, table XIII.

1019<sup>a</sup>. See 769, note.

1023 ff. The passage in the *Legend*, p. 120, l. 14 ff., corresponding to the omitted parts of the narrative here, is as follows: Sē ēadiga Mathēus þā and sē hālīga Andrēas hīe wæron cyssende him betwēonon. Sē hālga Andrēas him tō cwæð, 'Hwæt is þæt, brōþor? Hū eart þū hēr gemet? Nū þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon þæt hīe þē willað ācwellan, and him tō mete gedōn.' Sē hālga Mathēus him andswarode, and hē cwæð, 'Brōþor Andrēas, ac ne gehȳrdest þū Drihten cwebbende, "For þon þe ic ēow sende swā swā scēap on middum wulfum?" þanon wæs geworden, mid þȳ þe hīe mē sendon on þis carcern, ic bæd ūrne Drihten þæt hē hine ætēowde, and hraþe hē mē hine ætēowde, and hē mē tō cwæð, "Onbīd hēr xxvii daga, and æfter þon ic sende tō þē Andrēas þinne brōðor, and hē þē ūt ālæt of þissum carcerne and ealle þā [þe] mid þē syndon." Swā mē Drihten tō cwæð, ic gesio. Brōðor, hwæt sculon wē nū dōn?' Sē hālga Andrēas þā and sē hālga Mathēus gebædon tō Drihtne, and æfter þon gebede sē hālīga Andrēas sette his hand ofer þāra wera ēagan þe þær on þæm carcerne wæron, and gesihþe hīe onfēngon. And eft hē sette his hand ofer hiora heortan, and heora andgit him eft tō hwirfde. The Greek version agrees in the main with the *Legend*, but as usual is somewhat more detailed.

1028. Grimm, Kemble, and Baskervill set only a comma after **Godes**; but a heavier pause is better. **Se hālga**, l. 1029, refers specifically to Matthew, and it is his special prayer that follows, l. 1030 ff.

1034<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Dan.* 438: ac hīe on friðe drihtnes.

1035. Cf. *El.* 2-3: tū hund ond þrēo geteled rīmes, swylce .xxx. ēac.

1035 ff. It seems quite probable that the second half of lines 1036 and 1040 were never filled out; it should be noticed that the first half of both lines gives merely a number. If the lines are thus regarded as incomplete, it is not necessary to suppose any omissions in the text. Comparison with the *Legend* and the Greek version indicates also that nothing has been lost.

The numbers in the different versions vary: the *Legend*, p. 121, gives 248 men and 49 women; the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 94) has in some MSS. 270 men, in others 249 men; the number of women in all MSS. is 49. If l. 1036 is to be filled out, the completed number, 249, is the most probable reading. Wülker's reading *seofontig* is an attempt to make the Anglo-Saxon agree with the Greek version; but the regular form for 70 would be *hundseofontig*, not *seofontig*.

B.<sup>2</sup> suggests retaining the MS. reading on, l. 1039, changing **þær** to **þæm**, and emending l. 1040 to read **ānes wana orwyrþe fiftig**. The passage as thus reconstructed he would translate 'Two hundred, counted by number, also seventy [following Wülker], he saved from destruction; there he left not one fast with bonds in the city inclosure, out of which [i.e. on **þæm**] then also, in addition to the men, of women fifty wanting one he freed from ignominy, from fright.'

1037<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 827: genered wið nīðe; *Chr.* 1258: generede from nīðcwale.

1040. **ānes wana þe fiftig**. *Wana*, usually as indeclinable adj. with the genitive, is of frequent occurrence: see Shipley, p. 83; Sievers, *Gram.*, § 291, note 2, and *PBB.* IX, 255, 264. There is no example beside the present passage, however, in which it is followed by the particle *þe* before a numeral. But see B.-T., pp. 1164-1165, for examples of *wan þe*, *læs þe*, followed, as here, by a numeral.

The construction **wana þe** is probably due to contamination with *wan þe, læs þe*, etc.

1044 ff. Matthew here drops out of the story, his name not being mentioned again. The poem does not make clear what becomes of him; but in the *Legend* and the Greek version we are told more specifically of the action of Matthew and the throng of the rescued. The rescued men and women are commanded to go to the lower parts of the city and sit under a fig-tree and eat of its fruit until Andrew shall come to them. Matthew and his disciples are conveyed under cover of a cloud to St. Peter, with whom they remain (cf. *Legend*, p. 121, Bonnet, p. 94). The narrative in the *Andreas* compresses the account in that Matthew leads out the rescued men and women, the whole party being covered with the cloud; and, as indicated, nothing is said as to their destination.

1046. **weorod on wilsīð**. Cf. *Beow.* 216: *weas on wilsīð*; *El.* 223: *wif on wilsīþ*.

1047. **scyldhatan**. 'Wicked persecutors, enemies,' appositive to **ealdgenīðlan**, 1048. The only other occurrence of this word is l. 1147; probably, however, **scyldhetum**, l. 85, is to be regarded merely as a variant form. The first element is intensive as in *scyldfrece*, *Gen.* 898. A noun-compound of similar formation is found in *El.* 1299: *lēase lēodhatan*; *Jud.* 72: *lāðne lēodhatan*, etc. The second element in all these compounds is to be connected with *hatician*, 'to hate,' 'persecute.' The word *scyldhata* is accordingly not to be connected with Mod. Germ. *schultheiss*, 'judge,' which appears in OHG. *scultheitso* with the meaning *tribunus*, *centurio*, as is done by Grein, *Spr.* II, 415, under the form *scyldhāta*; the word is correctly glossed by B.-T., p. 847, under *scyldhata*. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 164, l. 11: *cyrichatan hetole* and *lēodhatan grimme*. — **scyððan**. The usual form of this verb is *scyððan*, the only examples with *y* as the radical vowel being, according to Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 210, the present passive and l. 1561.

1048. After **ealdgenīðlan**, Grimm, Grein, and Wülker have only a comma.

1056<sup>a</sup>. So *Ex.* 432; *Hy.* IV, 43; *El.* 80.

1059<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Ph.* 519, *Chr.* 576: *gongað glædmōde*; *El.* 1095: *glædmōd eoðe*; *Jud.* 140: *oð hie glædmōde gegan hæfdon*. — **tō þæs ðe**. **Tō** followed by the genitive occurs three times in *Andreas* (cf. ll. 1070, 1123), and in all three passages the construction plainly has the sense of limit of motion. Shipley, p. 118, groups such constructions as occurring after verbs of motion to express the object of motion, and points out that the construction is unknown to Anglo-Saxon prose.

1061. **oððæt**. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, thinks the word **þær** should appear after **oððæt**, but the expression looks back to l. 1058<sup>b</sup> and is complete as it stands.

1062. **stapul ærenne**. The words correspond to *στῦλον χαλκοῦν*, Bonnet, p. 94, and *Legend*, p. 121, l. 21, *swer*; in both the Greek and the *Legend* the column is surmounted by an image, which is described in the *Legend* as *ærne onlicnesse*, though the column itself is not said to be made of brass. Nothing is said of the image in the poem.

1065. **þanon bāsnode**. The expression indicates the direction from which that which he awaits is to come; cf. Sievers, *PBB.* XII, 193.

1068. *frumgāras*. The word is frequently used in the sense 'patriarch,' see B.-T., p. 342; but also, as here, 'leader, chief.' Cf. the Roman *primipilus*, the first centurion of the first cohort; and see T. Rice Holmes, "Who were 'the Centurions of the First Rank'?", in his *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899), pp. 571-583. The term *primipilus* was evidently a technical term of rank in the Roman army, although the limits of its inclusion do not appear to be definitely determined. In Anglo-Saxon, however, the term *frumgār* does not appear to have technical meaning.

1069<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1614.

1071<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 544.

1072-1074. Cf. *Gu.* 635:

Wëndun gē ond woldun    wīperhycgende,  
þæt gē scyppende    sceoldan gelīce  
wesān in wuldre;    ēow þær [þæs?] wyr̥s gelomp.

1074<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 2323; *Gen.* 49, 1446.

1075-1077. Cf. *Jul.* 236-237:

Ðā wæs mid clūstre    carcnes duru  
behliden, homra geweorc.

1078. *unhyðige*. The only other occurrence of this word in the poetry is *Gu.* 1302; a single occurrence has also been noted in prose, cf. B.-T., p. 1119, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, where it is synonymous with *earm*, the opposite to *welig*.

1079. *lāðspell beran*. Cf. l. 1295<sup>b</sup>.

1081-1082. Wülker, reading *ænig* in 1081, takes this word as subject of *gemētte*, 1082. He translates 'dass der Fremden nicht einer übrig geblieben im Gefängnisse (ihnen) lebendig begegnet sei.' But, as Sievers points out (*PBB.* XVI, 551), *-mētan* is used here as a synonym of *findan*, and demands an object. He remarks that *ænigne tō lāfe* 'nicht in den vers passt,' and suggests *æn(1)ge tō lāfe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemēttan*. But the metrical argument does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the natural reading *ænigne* in 1081.

1084. *gāste berofene*. Cf. since berofene, *Ex.* 36; golde berofene, *Beow.* 2931.

1085<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1568: *fægne flæschoman*. — 1085<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 801: *þær sceal forht monig*; and see 1549, 1596.

1086<sup>a</sup>. So also *Jul.* 267.

1087<sup>a</sup>. So 1557, *Gen.* 879; *hēane hygegēomre*, *El.* 1215, *Chr.* 994.

1088. *blātes bēodgastes*. There is nothing in the *Legend* or the Greek version corresponding to this striking figure.

1090. *dēade gefeormedon*. Cf. 1077<sup>b</sup>. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) would read *hrā gefeormedon: huru þegnum wearð*, etc., citing *Chr.* 789 in proof that *huru* may carry the main metrical stress. But *duruþegnum* is so appropriate to the context that one hesitates to change it. Sievers regards the line, which scans  $\underline{\text{ } } \times \times \mid \underline{\text{ } } \times \times$ , as metrically imperfect, because in lines of this type only one unstressed syllable should follow the first stressed syllable. But he himself (*PBB.* X, 255) records a verse of the type  $\underline{\text{ } } \times \times \times \mid \underline{\text{ } } \underline{\text{ } } \times$ . Cf. also *Ap.* 4: *torhte ond tīrēad(1)ge*,  $\underline{\text{ } } \times \times \mid \underline{\text{ } } \underline{\text{ } } \times$ , and *An.* 1108<sup>a</sup>,  $\times \underline{\text{ } } \times \times \mid \underline{\text{ } } \times \underline{\text{ } }$ .

1092. **hildbedd stýred**. 'For them all was the war-couch prepared.' The passage with which one would like to connect this is *Beow.* 2436: *mordorbed strēd*; so Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) derives **stýred** from *strewian*, and *strēd*, emended to *streid*, in the *Beowulf*, from the same verb. But it is difficult to see how **stýred** can derive from *strewian*. B.-T., p. 931, glosses **stýred** under *styrian*, 'stir, disturb,' and explains the passage as meaning that their bed was disturbed when they, the dead watchmen, were portioned out as food to the Mermedonians; so also Grimm, p. 125, 'so mag **hildbedd styran** sein "das ehrenbett verwehren, entziehen, stören," eher als "das todesbett steuern, ordnen."' But Grimm and B.-T. appear to overlook the meaning of the first half of l. 1092; the **hildbedd** is **stýred** as result of a grievous conflict, i.e. the struggle with Andrew and Matthew. Grein's explanation of the word, *Spr.* II, 491, as derived from infinitive **stýran**, **stieran**, with the first meaning 'guide, direct,' a well-defined second meaning 'restrain, control,' and for the present passage a third meaning, 'appoint, ordain, arrange,' seems altogether to be the most probable one. Cf. Hall, 'For each of the door-thanes was the deathbed appointed.'

1094. **burgwaru**. Sievers (*PBB.* I, 489), notes this example and one other, *lufu*, *Hy.* VII, 30, as the only instances of the acc. sg. of fem. *a*-stems ending in *-u*.

1095. **gengan**. A form of the verb found only in the poetry; see *Gramm.*, § 396, note 2.

1096. **mōdige**. This example seems to have escaped Sievers, *PBB.* X, 46.

1097<sup>a</sup>. So *Rid.* XXIII, 11. — 1097<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 835: *þær wæs eal geador Grendles grāpe*.

1099. **taan**. See 6, note; 649<sup>a</sup>, note.

1100 ff. The poet omits a necessary step in the motivation of the narrative here. This whole episode of the choosing of a victim from their own number by the Mermedonians is omitted in the *Legend*; but the Greek version (Bonnet, pp. 94-95) relates that as the hands of the Mermedonians were lifted in the act of mutilating the bodies of the dead watchmen, at the prayer of Andrew the knives fell from their hands and their hands were turned to stone. It thus became necessary to cast lots in order to determine which of their number should be offered as food for the rest. Another interesting detail is omitted by the Anglo-Saxon version in the present passage. According to the Greek (Bonnet, p. 96) the Mermedonians determine to subsist upon the bodies of the seven dead watchmen until they shall be able to send out their young men in boats to attack the neighboring countries and bring in some victims with which to satisfy their hunger. Gutschmid, p. 382, points out that this statement accords with the identification of Mermedonia as the *πολίχνιον Μυρμήκιον* of Strabo, Bk. VII, 4, 5, since the Achaians of the east coast of the Black Sea, as well as other tribes of the region, were, according to Strabo, notorious pirates (cf. *Introd.*, p. lxvi).

1104 ff. In the Greek version, the lot falls upon seven old men; of these seven one offers his son in his stead, and later his daughter as well. The Anglo-Saxon version says nothing of the seven men or of the daughter.

1107<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 599: *fēores orwēnan*.

1111. **lāc**. For the etymology of this word, see Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 24-25 (July 13, 1889).



1112<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 95-96: þām þe his giefe willað þicgan tō þonce.

1113. mōdgēomre. The compound occurs also 1708 and *Beow.* 2894; but the more frequent form is *gēomormōd*. The syntax here is nom. pl., agreeing with the sense, not the grammar, of þēod, nom. sg. fem.

1115<sup>b</sup>-1116<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 2278-2279: Swā se ðēodsceaða . . . hēold on hrusan hordærna sum, of the dragon which guarded the treasure.

1116. rēow rīcsode. The metre requires double alliteration and therefore favors the change from hrēow to rēow. The MS. reading hrēow in the present passage is the only occurrence of that form for rēow (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 257).

1118<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 550. — The Edd. have no punctuation after onbryrded, but a period after beadulāce.

1119<sup>b</sup>. So *Edg.* 34. (*Bibl.* II, 384).

1122. eogoðe. Initial g is also omitted in eador, 1627; see *Gram.*, § 214, 7.

1124. herigweardas. Corresponding to the Greek οἱ δῆμιοι, Bonnet, p. 96, l. 5, and frequently in this episode. Perhaps nowhere is the grotesqueness of the narrative in the *Andreas* so striking as in the present passage, in which an army is called together with all the accompaniments of battle for the purpose of devouring their single victim.

1125. ceastrewarena. Perhaps one should read here ceaster-, as in 1646, *El.* 42, as is suggested by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. 103, note. But the MS. of the *Andreas* presents in many respects a late text, and it may be that here we have an example of the tendency in late West Saxon to extend the -e of the oblique case of feminine nouns to the nominative; cf. *Ap.* 11, Rōmebyrig, and see Meyer, *Zur Sprache d. jüing. Theile d. Chronik von Peterborough*, § 38. That the word is to be taken as compound, and not as two words, as is done by Grein and Baskervill, is sufficiently established by its use in other passages. Wülker, note to l. 1125, incorrectly ascribes ceasterwarena to *Spr.* I, 159; the citation there agrees with Grein's text. — cyrm upp āstāh. Bourauel, p. 82, unnecessarily supposes this phrase to have been derived from Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 451, *It clamor coelo*; see also ll. 761-762, note. Cf. *Beow.* 782: sweg ūp āstāg; *Gu.* 234: wōð ūp āstāg cearfulra cirm; *Jul.* 62: reord ūp āstāg.

1127<sup>b</sup>. Also l. 1342<sup>b</sup>; *Jul.* 615; hearmlēoð āgōl.

1128<sup>a</sup>. So *Gen.* 2100, 2479, 2699.

1130. The logical relation of the clause introduced by þe is that of a clause explanatory of what precedes; thus Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 272, translates 'Schonung bei dem volke, dass es ihm das leben, das dasein, gönnen wollte.' Examples of similar construction are *Dan.* 607; *Beow.* 1334, 2606. Grein, *Dicht.*, takes þe as relative, its antecedent being folce: 'doch der Arme konnte da durchaus nicht finden Gnade bei dem Volke, die ihm gönnen wollte seines Lebens Fristung.'

1132. sæcce gesōhte. Cf. *Beow.* 1989: sæcce sēcean; *ibid.* 2562: sæcce tō sēceanne. Cf. *El.* 940: sæce ræran; *Beow.* 2499, *Rid.* LXXXVIII, 29: sæcce fremman.

1133. scūrheard. The exact meaning of the compound has not been satisfactorily determined. It is found only in this passage and in *Beow.* 1033, and is defined by B.-T. 'made hard by blows,' by Grein, *Spr.* II, 415, 'ictu durus,' *Dicht.*



‘schauerhart.’ Pearce, *MLN.* VII, 193, explains *scūrheard* as meaning ‘hardened in water,’ ‘shower of water’ passing into ‘water at rest.’ Professor Hart, *MLN.* VIII, 61, quotes the following phrase (from Lumby, *Be Domes Dage*, p. 16, l. 264): *ne þær hagul scūras hearde mid snawe*, i.e. *hagulscūras*, and takes *scūrheard* as = ‘sharp,’ ‘cutting like a storm.’ Palmer, *MLN.* VIII, 122, gives the compound an active sense and takes it to mean ‘hard in battle,’ *scūr* ‘the stroke of the sword in battle.’ This seems the most probable meaning of the word, and although *scūr* is not found in Anglo-Saxon in the sense of ‘battle,’ clearly defined examples occur in Chaucer, *Tr. and Cr.* III, 1063–1064, IV, 47–49 (see my note, *MLN.* XIX, 234), and later in the ballads, in the derived sense ‘attack,’ e.g. ‘It was a shouir o sad sickness,’ Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* III, 385; also I, 68, II, 105, III, 386.

1137–1138<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1477–1478<sup>a</sup>: *gif ic æt þearfe þinre scolde aldre linnan*.

1139. The fact that the first half-line is too short metrically, as it is preserved in the MS., does not seem to Wülker sufficient reason for an emendation; if the half-line is to be filled out, however, he suggests *þrist ond þrothheard*, as in l. 1254.

1140<sup>a</sup>. So also l. 1515; *Wand.* 62; *Men.* 82; *Beow.* 2757: *magobegn mōdig*.

1142–1143. A reminiscence, Cosijn thinks (*PBB.* XXI, 15), of the earlier passage, ll. 50–51.

1144<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 760, 789; *Jul.* 263; *El.* 1086; *Gu.* 910; cf. also *Gu.* 1051: *hālig on hēahþu*.

1145. The figure is not found in the Greek version; cf. Walker, p. 362, ‘and straightway the knives were loosened and fell out of the hands of the executioners.’ Perhaps the poet had in mind *Beow.* 1608, *þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost*, of the sword of Beowulf with which he slew Grendel’s mother. But the use of wax in the figure is quite likely due to association in the poet’s mind with the altar candles; cf. *Chr.* 989: *byrneþ wæter swā weax*.

1147. The scribe evidently wrote *sceaðan* here as an appositive to *scyldhatan*. But the metre and the sense both require the verb; the forms of the word which appear in the *Andreas* are *scyððan*, l. 1047, and *scyðeð*, l. 1561. Perhaps one should read here *scyððan*.

1154. Translate ‘eternal peace for him who can attain it.’ Retaining both *frēond* and *hīe* as in the MS., it would be necessary to make *hīe* refer back to *gēoce*, l. 1152 — a possible but improbable construction. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates ‘Freundliebe unvergänglich dem der sie finden kann’; K. inconsistently retains *hīe* and translates ‘an eternal friend for him who can find him’; Root, ‘There is eternal peace ever prepared for those who can attain,’ omitting the object. See 907<sup>b</sup>–909, note.

1155<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 128: *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp ūp āhafen*. — 1155<sup>b</sup>. So *Rid.* XXXV, 1.

1156<sup>a</sup>. So *Ex.* 107. — 1156<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 54, 550.

1157–1158. Cf. *El.* 611<sup>b</sup>–613<sup>a</sup>: *þe on wēstenne mēðe ond metelēas mōrland* *trude* *ge* *hæfted*.

and *wīnræced* are subjects of *wunedon*. But Gn.<sup>2</sup>, *er gehæfte*, takes *hornsalu* and *wīnræced* as accuser, he translates according to his first reading, ‘die

Homsäle blieben leer, die Gastgemächer.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) cites **wēste wīnræced wunian**, and remarks 'contradictio in terminis.' The phrase would be self-contradictory if one took **wīnræced** as accusative, but not if it is taken as subject of the intransitive **wunedon**, 'stood,' 'remained,' cf. 802; *Ap.* 95.

1159. **wīnræced**. Grimm, p. xxxvii, derives **wīnræced**, as also **wīnburg**, ll. 1637, 1672, and similar compounds, from *wine*, 'friend,' or *wyn*, 'joy,' not from **wīn**, 'wine' — 'denn es wurde bier und meth getrunken.' But the word for friend should appear in compounds as *wine*, e.g. *winedryhten*, *winemæg*, etc., and the word for joy as *wyn*, e.g. *wynbēam*, *wyndæg*, etc. Wine is mentioned all through the poetry, e.g. *Beow.* 1162: byrelas sealdon wīn of wundorfatum; l. 1233: druncon wīn weras; *Jud.* 8, *wīnhdte*, 'invitation to the wine'; *Jud.* 16, *wīngedrinc*, 'wine-drinking.' For an account of the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine throughout Europe, see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*<sup>8</sup>, p. 77 ff.; Gummere, *Germ. Origins*, pp. 71–72. Cf. *meoduburgum*, *Husband's Message* 16; *medobyrig*, *Jud.* 167; *medoærn*, *Beow.* 69. Similar compounds with **wīn** are numerous.

1160. **brūcane**. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 482) reads **brūcan** for the sake of the metre; a similar change is proposed for the inflected infinitive in 1481, 1659, 1689. But it should be observed that all these lines have metrically the same form,  $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \times$ , and it is extremely likely that they have the poet's sanction in the form in which they appear in the MS.

1161. Cf. *Wand.* 111: gesæt him sundor æt rūne.

1165<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 382. — 1165<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Vision of the Cross* 80: Is nū sāl cumen.

1166<sup>b</sup>. So 1605<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 426: nū is þearf mycel; *Jul.* 695: is mē þearf micel; *Chr.* 751, 848: is ūs þearf micel. Cf. 158, note.

1169. Cf. *Chr.* 1564: won ond whitelēas, hafað wērges blēo.

1170<sup>b</sup>. So *Jud.* 90, of Holofernes; *Jud.* 93 has *tīres brytta*, appositive to *dryhten*.

1171. **hellehinca**. The only occurrence of the word in Anglo-Saxon; it is in apposition with **dēoful**, l. 1168, and **morpres brytta**, l. 1170. Grimm, p. 129, derives the second element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon *hincan*, 'claudicare.' Grein, *Spr.* II, 31, glosses the word by 'Höllenhinker, Teufel,' and cites Anglo-Saxon *ādroma*, 'devil,' in *Gu.* 884, which he explains as compounded of *ād*, 'fire,' and *-lama*, 'lame.' I have not been able to discover other early allusions to the popular belief that the devil was lame. Modern allusions are familiar, e.g. in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (adapted from the Spanish *El Diablo cojuelo*, of Guevara). Le Sage (ed. Jannet, 1867, I, 12–13) draws the obvious parallel between his limping devil and Vulcan, both of whom were crippled through falling from the mid-regions of the air to the earth. The belief in the lameness of the devil is quite probably an outgrowth of the story of the fall of Satan. Cf. Heine, *Werke*, ed. Elster, I, 111:

Ich rief den Teufel und er kam  
Und ich sah ihn mit Verwundrung an;  
Er ist nicht hässlich und ist nicht lahm,  
•Er ist ein lieber, scharmanter Mann.

Cf. 'hinke-bein,' and see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* III, 993; IV, 1603.

1176. **nēon**. Cf. *Gram.*, § 112, § 150, 3.

1178<sup>b</sup>. So *Dan.* 250, 492.

1180. Holthausen (*PBB.* XVI, 551) changes to **gewyrhtan**, “dem täter, urheber,” da nur Andreas gemeint ist.’ Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) objects, however, that the word means here merely ‘mitschuldige.’ Grein, *Dicht.*, translates ‘an dem Würker’; Root, ‘on their author.’ It seems simpler, however, to take the word as a plural rather than alter the text. The logic which leads Holthausen to change to a singular should demand also a singular for **oncyðdæda**, since only one deed is mentioned in the preceding lines — the leading out of the people from the prison. But it is a good rhetorical device to change from the particular and the singular to the general and the plural. — 1180<sup>b</sup>. Gn.’s emendation, **wæpna spor**, is based on *Jul.* 623; the exact reading, however, at that place, is *wæpnes spor*.

1181. **ealdorgeard**. ‘The life-enclosure, the body.’ Grimm mentions *Mald.* 296–297; *gār oft burhwōd fāges feorhhūs*; and this passage confirms the admirable emendation of Kemble and Napier. The word is thus a synonym of **feorh-hord**, l. 1182. Grimm, p. 129, retains the MS. reading **eador-**, as equivalent to *edor*, *eodor*, ‘enclosure,’ ‘court,’ ‘dwelling,’ the compound **ealdorgeard** meaning ‘aula septa,’ ‘domus.’ The whole phrase **ealdorgeard fāges** he defines as ‘domus moribundi,’ ‘caput.’ Wülker follows Grimm, except that he takes the phrase as meaning not merely ‘head’ but ‘body’ in general. Grein, *Spr.* I, 234, explains **eador-** as meaning ‘vein’ (cf. *ædr*, *ædre*, ‘vein’), the compound as meaning ‘domus venarum,’ ‘corpus’?

1182<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 221.

1188<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 811: *hē [Grendel] fāg wið God*; *Sat.* 97: *ic eom fāh wið God*.

1189. **Hwæt! ðū dēofles stræl**. The corresponding phrase in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 10–11) reads: *þū heardeste stræl tō æghwilcre unrihtnesse*. But the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 100, l. 13) has merely *ὦ Βελία ἐχθρότατε*. Zupitza (*Haupt's Zs.* XVIII, 185) sees in the **stræl** of the two Anglo-Saxon versions a reflection from their common Latin original. **Stræl** he supposes to be a translation of Latin *sagitta* or *telum*, which in turn is a mistranslation of the *Βελία* of the Greek, taken not for Belial, but for *βέλος* = ‘dart, spear.’ Cf. *Chr.* 779: *ne þearf him ondrædan dēofla strælas*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 214, l. 13: *eall mid dēofles strælum āwrecen*.

1190<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1384; *Hy.* IV, 93: *ȝcað his yrmþu*, of the sinner.

1191<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1274: *gehnægde hellegāst þā hē hēan gewāt*.

1193. **Sātān**. The name Satan is not of frequent occurrence in the verse. Gn., *Spr.* II, 793, records only nine examples, three in *Gen.*, four in *Sat.*, and two in *An.*; to these add one in *Chr.* l. 1522.

1194. For the phrase **Dryhtnes æ dēman**, cf. l. 1403, *Ap.* 10. **Dēman** in the sense ‘glorify, celebrate,’ is found elsewhere, e.g. *Gen.* 17; *Jul.* 2; *Gu.* 498, etc., but the above three passages are the only occurrences of **æ dēman**. Perhaps Kemble’s reading **æ** should be followed; the MS. form may be an echo of **ā**, l. 1193.

1197<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 243, 345.

1198. Cf. l. 1445; and *Beow.* 2645: *for ðām hē manna mæst mærdā gefremede*.

1201 ff. Here again (cf. 1100 ff., note) the poet fails to make clear the motivation of his narrative; in the Greek version and the *Legend* this episode is clearly distinguished from the first coming together of the Mermedonians (cf. 1067 ff., 1093 ff.). In the present passage, when Andrew’s voice is heard, the devil bids his

followers go in search of him; the passage in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 19–21) corresponding to 1201–1205, is as follows: Ðā burhlēode þā urnon, and hī betýndon þære ceastre gatu, and hī sōhton þone hālgan Andrēas þæt hīe hine genāmon. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) draws a parallel between this threefold description of the arming of the Mermedonians and the threefold description of the coming of Grendel in *Beowulf*, inferring therefrom the naturalness of such repetitions in Anglo-Saxon epic narrative. But the passages in *Andreas* are merely a reflection — and a confused reflection at that — of its source. Cf. 1212, note.

1202<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap.* 21: heriges byrhtme; *El.* 205: heriges beorhtme. Cf. 1271<sup>b</sup>, note.

1204<sup>a</sup>. So *Jud.* 333. — 1204<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gen.* 1652, 2453: corðrum miclum; *Chr.* 578: corðre ne lýtle; *Edg.* 2: corðre mycclum; *El.* 274, *Ph.* 167: corðra mæste.

1207. So *Sat.* 262; *Chr.* 716; *Gifts of Men* 4; metod . . . mihtum swið, *Dan.* 284, *Az.* 5.

1208. **ellen fremman**. Cf. *Beow.* 3: ellen fremedon; *Beow.* 636–637: ic gefremman sceal eorlic ellen.

1210<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 875: næs sēo stund latu.

1212. **cealdan clommum**. The only example of inst. pl. in -an in the *Andreas*; for examples in the *Beowulf*, cf. *Beow.* 963, 1502, 1505, 1542, 2692. Cf. *Seaf.* 10: caldum clommum. — **cýð þē sylfne**. The poet has omitted to mention that Andrew has made himself invisible to the Mermedonians; the Greek version and the *Legend* state this specifically. Cf. 1201 ff., note.

1218. **mānslaga**. It seems best to take **mānslaga** as acc. pl., assuming thus an otherwise unrecorded feminine -slagu, parallel to the masculine *slege*. This whole passage is an evident reminiscence of ll. 954 ff., where, however, the text reads *slege* as object of *ðolie*. Simons, p. 97, would read *mānslæge*, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) *mānslægas*, thus reducing the word to the same form as in l. 956. B.-T., p. 670, suggests *mānslagan*, in apposition to *scyldige*, l. 1216. Kemble retains the MS. reading as gen. pl., translating 'though thou mayst suffer wounds dark of the slaughterers I abide with thee.' But the readings of both B.-T. and Kemble are stylistically contrary to the spirit of the verse.

1220. **lārsmeoðas**. See 86, note.

1222. Grein and Wülker put a comma after **gebundon**, all other Edd. a period. A comma is as much punctuation as is permissible, since the clause ll. 1223–1225, is explanatory of what precedes, 'after the best of princes was revealed,' i.e. had laid aside his invisibility. Cf. 1212<sup>b</sup>.

1223. **æðelinga wynn**. So 1713, *Jul.* 730; and cf. *Gu.* 1081: *eorla wynn*; *Ph.* 70: *laguflōda wynn*; *Ph.* 290: *æðeltungla wyn*; and see Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 6, for similar examples throughout the later Christian poetry. Cook, *Christ*, p. 86, thinks that 'the expression comes from the Latin (and no doubt originally from the Greek) hymns.' In *Chr.* 71, Mary is called *wīfa wynn* and in *Hymn* III, 26, *calra fæmnena wyn*; this is also the application of the phrase in the Latin hymns, e.g. 'angelorum gaudium,' 'coeli gaudium,' 'mundi gaudium'; for full citations, cf. Cook, l.c. The expression is not found in *Beowulf* or any of the early heroic poems.

1224. Grein, *Spr.* I, 6: hī hine andweardne ēagum, etc.

1225. **sec**. For other examples of this spelling, see *Spr.* II, 420.

1226. **welwange**. Cf. **sel**, 762; **fregn**, 1163; **meðle**, 1436, 1626.

1227<sup>a</sup>. So *Ex.* 183, 228, *Beow.* 2238, 2915; *Sal.* 366: mid lēoda dugubum. —  
1227<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 209<sup>b</sup>.

1230. **Ṫrāgmælum**. Grein's reading *trāgmælum*, which is repeated in *Spr.* II, 596, is made for the sake of the alliteration; but, as Bright points out (*MLN.* II, 82), the logically important word here is **tēon**. Sievers (*PBB.* XVIII, 406) discusses the meaning of the first element, **Ṫrāg-**, 'time,' not as Cosijn (*Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 6) would have it, 'affliction, oppression.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) later accepts Sievers' interpretation. — **torngeniðlan**. All the translations (also *Spr.* II, 547) take **torngeniðlan** as acc. sg., meaning Andrew, except Kemble who regards it as nom. pl., appositive to the subject of **hēton**. One would like to take the word as acc. sg., since otherwise no object to **lædan** is expressed. On the other hand, **torngeniðlan** is not a word that the poet would be likely to use to designate Andrew. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *El.* 568, where it refers in a hostile manner to the Jews, and *El.* 1305, where it refers to the wicked on the day of judgment. Cosijn's insertion of **hine** in l. 1229<sup>a</sup> removes the difficulty; but perhaps it is not necessary to supply the pronoun.

1234. **efne swā wīde swā**. So *Beow.* 1223. — **lāgon**. Perhaps 'run, extend'? See 375, note on **stōd**. Baskervill has no punctuation after **lāgon**, apparently taking **enta ærgeweorc** as object of the verb.

1235. **enta ærgeweorc**. So *Beow.* 1679 (of a sword), 2717 (of the cave of the fire-drake), 2774 (of the fire-drake's treasure); *Wand.* 87 (buildings); *Ruin* 2 (buildings); *Gn. C.* 2 (citadels); *An.* 1495 (columns, pillars). Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 534, remarks: 'Ancient buildings of singular structure which have outlasted many centuries, and such as men of to-day no longer take in hand, are vulgarly ascribed to giants or to the devil. . . . These are the *enta geweorc* of Anglo-Saxon poetry.' So also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 98–99: 'The "street" (*strata via*) and the "ceaster" (*castra*) were soon borrowed, thing and word; and in *Beowulf* we are told that the road which led up to Hrothgar's burg was "stone-variegated" — *stræt was stānfāh*, — paved in the Roman fashion; although it is plain that, as with stone in houses, so with these paved roads, the Germanic instinct regarded the process as something uncanny and savoring of those mysterious giants who long ago had rolled up the huge piles of masonry.'

1236. **stræte stānfāge**. The elaboration of the allusion to the street is characteristic of the poetic style. The *Legend*, p. 123, l. 5, in the passage corresponding to ll. 1232–1236 says merely, and *hīe hine tugon geond bære ceastre lanan*. The word 'street,' Lat. *strata*, conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon a dignified idea, connoting, possibly, something of the greatness of the traditional Roman civilization in England. Cf. *Beow.* 320–321: *Stræt was stānfāh, stīg wisode gumum ætgædere*, and the frequent poetic compounds with *stræt*, e.g. *farod-*, *here-*, *lagu-*, *merestræt*. In a similar way allusions to the city of the Mermedonians are elaborated; cf., besides the present passage, ll. 40–43, 287, 839–843, 973, 1155, 1649. See *Introd.*, p. liii. Ruins and ancient roads might readily pass into the stock of common poetic tradition, and this development would be furthered by the attitude of the Anglo-Saxons towards towns and roads. 'All records seem to show that in early Saxon times towns counted for very little in the life of the people, and

the question at once arises, What of the Roman cities? . . . It may be said generally that the Teutonic invaders made little account either of the Roman towns as places of habitation or the Roman roads as routes of intercourse, and the country would have been settled in just the same manner had these not been in existence at all. As in Britain so in the Gallic provinces, the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, whether Goths or Saxons or Franks, cared little for the life of the Romanized cities. . . . The most striking object lesson on Roman roads is to be gained by opening a large-scale map of the center of England, where the great Fosse Way, which can be more or less clearly followed from the borders of Devon to Leicester and Lincoln, is seen sweeping across the country in but little connection with the present life of its inhabitants. In its comparative isolation this immensely extended track is very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule. To sum up, therefore, the Teutonic settlements, it is evident, were independent, self-centered little communities, and did not regard as a matter of primary importance the means of intercourse with their neighbors. We are reminded of the words of Tacitus about the Germans, that they avoided cities and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached bodies apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions (*Germania*, chap. 16). All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side.' *The Arts in Early England*, by G. Baldwin Brown, I, 52-64. See 842, note, and Cook's *Christ*, p. 73, on the use of stone in building in the Anglo-Saxon period. — 1236<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ex.* 459-460: *storm ūþ gewāt, . . . herewōpa mæst*, and for similar figurative uses of *storm*, see *Spr.* II, 485.

1238<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 589.

1239. *sārbennum soden*. Cf. *Gu.* 1046: *sorgwylmum soden*; *Gu.* 1123: *soden sār wylmum*; *Gu.* 1236: *soden sorgwælmum*.

1240. *bānhūs ābrocen*. Cf. *Beow.* 3147: *oð þæt hē ðā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde, hāt on hreðre*.

1240<sup>b</sup>-1241<sup>a</sup>. *Hātan heolfre* is syntactically parallel to *ȳðum*, 1240. Cf. *Beow.* 849: *hāton heolfre, heorodrēore wēol*; *Beow.* 2693: *swāt ȳðum wēoll*; *Beow.* 1422-1423: *Flōd blōde wēol (folc to sǣgon), hātan heolfre*; and *Beow.* 3147, quoted in note to l. 1240<sup>a</sup>. In l. 1241<sup>a</sup> Cosijn would read *hāt of hreþre*, citing *Riddle* XCIII, 16-17: *blōd ūt ne cōm, heolfor of hreþre*. But the two passages are not parallel, while the evidence of the above passages from the *Beowulf* is borne out by *An.* 1277. Cf. also *Gu.* 1314: *teagor ȳðum wēol*.

1242. *ellen untwēonde*. Cf. *El.* 797: *hyht untwēondne*. — 1242<sup>b</sup>. See 140, note.

1243<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 1308, *Hy.* IV, 10; *synnum asundrad*, *Gu.* 486, *Ph.* 242.

1245. So *Beow.* 1235, 2303.

1246. *sigetorht swungen*. The adj. agrees with the subject of *wæs*, unexpressed. Cosijn remarks: "Der *sigerðfa* Andreas heisst hier wie Crist in *Sat.* 240, *sigetorht*: er hielt die folterung mit heldenmut aus.' He also calls attention to the inappropriateness of *sigeltorht*, 'radiant,' as descriptive of the night

which comes to put an end to Andrew's torments. K. retains **sigeltorht**, connecting it with Andrew: 'Thus was the whole day long until the evening came the star-bright one beaten.' Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der Siegstrahlende gezeiselt'; but in *Spr.* II, 448, he suggests **æfen sigeltorht**. W., placing a comma after **sigeltorht**, Root, and Hall follow Grein in *Spr.*; Simons, p. 124, '**sigeltorht**, wohl zu ändern in **sigetorht**, *siegstrahlend*, = Andreas.' Reading **æfen sigeltorht** we should have a weak repetition in **sunne swegeltorht**, 1248<sup>a</sup>.

1251<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 173.

1252. **nēh**. Bright (*MLN.* II, 82) remarked that **nēh**, possibly representing an older *þēh* repeated from l. 1250, should be omitted. But **nēh** (as Professor Bright now also believes) is necessary to the meaning here and is good idiom; cf. *Gu.* 1114-1117:

Cōm se seofeða dæg  
ældum andweard,    þæs þe him in gesonc  
hāt heortan nēah    hildescūrum  
flacor flānþracu.

1253-1269. On this passage Brooke, p. 180, remarks: 'In the *Andreas* the weather of Northumbria is described and it is as wild and hard as that of which we hear in *Beowulf* and are told in the *Seafarer*.' All of the present passage is elaborated from the following bare hint, *Legend*, p. 123, ll. 8-9: Ðā æfen geworden wæs, hī hine sendon on þæt carcern and hīe gebundon his handa behindan and hīe hine forlēton.

1254<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 1138. — 1254<sup>b</sup>. So also *Beow.* 2938; *Gu.* 1261. Cf. l. 818<sup>b</sup>, note.

1258. **āhre hildstapan**. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggests *hlidstapan*, 'viatores tegminibus involuti'? or *hæðstapan*, 'die über die heide stapfen'; cf. *Beow.* 1368: *hæðstapa*, of the stag; *Fates of Men* 13 (cited below), of the wolf; and the emended *hār hæðstapa* (MS. *hār hæð*, see Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 46, Bright, *MLN.* XVII, 213), appositive to *wēstengryre*, in *Ex.* 118. But, as Cosijn suggests (*PBB.* XXI, 16), the picture here is epic, heroic; the frost is personified as a gray-haired warrior, stalking abroad. Cf. *hār hilderinc*, *Beow.* 1307, 3136; *Mald.* 169; *Brun.* 39; *hār heaðorinc*, *Ex.* 241; *hār heorowulf*, *Ex.* 181; in all the above passages the phrases are descriptive of men. *Hār* is also the favorite adjective in descriptions of the wolf; cf. above, *Ex.* 181, figuratively applied to men; *sē hāra wulf*, *Wand.* 82; *sceal hine wulf etan*, *hār hæðstapa*, *Fates of Men* 13 (*Bibl.* III, 148). The mythic feeling pervading this passage is illustrated by the following related Teutonic traditions: 'Nowhere is the hostile omen of the north better expressed than in old Frisian law, where winter and darkness are represented as ruthless invaders: si illa tenebrosa nebula et frigidissima hiems in hortos et in sepes descendit — a bold personification [Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 762]. The north wind is often called the "schwarze Bise." Winter, like night and storm-cloud, is the dragon of many a myth. For the Scandinavian, that famous "catastrophe," or "night" of the gods, will be preceded by a terrible winter. . . . A favorite emblem for winter as well as darkness is one of man's fiercest enemies, the wolf. The home of Grendel, in *Beowulf*, is marked by *wulfhleoðu* [l. 1358] and *hrimde bearwas* [l. 1363; the MS. has *hrinde*, usually read *hrimge* by the Edd.]. Winter is used as convertible term with Death in many old folk-rites; and the metaphor is universal.' Gummere, "On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and



White in Germanic Tradition," in *Harvard College Studies* I, 122. 'Ymir, or in giant's language Örgelmir, was the *first-created*, and out of his body's enormous bulk were afterwards engendered earth, water, mountain and wood. Ymir himself originated in melted hoarfrost or rime (*hrīm*), hence all giants are called *hrīmbursar*, "rime-giants," *Sn.* 6; *Sæm.* 85<sup>a,b</sup>; *hrīmkaldr*, "rime-cold," is an epithet of *burs* and *iötunn*, *Sæm.* 33<sup>b</sup>, 90<sup>a</sup>; they still drip with thawing rime, their beards (*kinnskōgr*, "chin-forest") are frozen, *Sæm.* 53<sup>b</sup>; *Hrīmnir*, *Hrīmgrimr*, *Hrīngerðr* are proper names of giants, *Sæm.* 85<sup>a</sup>, 86<sup>a</sup>, 114, 145.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 532.

1260<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 59. — *wæteres þrym*. See 1536.

1260–1262. Translate 'The might of the water shrank together (i.e. the water became hard and motionless) over the river-streams, the ice formed a bridge over the dark sea-road.' B. puts a semicolon after *þrym*, with no punctuation after *ēastrēamas*, l. 1261. K. and Gn.<sup>2</sup> as B., except a comma instead of semicolon after *þrym*. All other Edd. have no punctuation after *þrym*, but a comma after *ēastrēamas*. K. translates 'over the river-streams the ice made a bridge, a pale water-road'; Grein, *Dicht.*, translates according to his first punctuation, 'die Kraft des Wassers schwand hin über die Fluten und die Hülle des Eises überbrückte die glänzende Brandungstrasse.' Root and Hall follow Grein. Reading with K., Gn.<sup>2</sup> and B., we must make *brimrāde* an appositive to a noun *brycg* contained in *brycgade*; but *brimrāde* means the water itself and not a bridge over it; cf. l. 1587, where the word is in apposition with *geofon* (MS. *heofon*), and such compounds as *brimlād*, *farōðstræt*, etc. Cf. *Ex. Gn.* 72–73: Forst sceal frēosan, . . . is brycgian.

1262. *blæce brimrāde*. '*Blæc* is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom — once in describing the black sea-roads, once as applied to the raven, once in referring to adders. . . . Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of the MLA*. XIV, 182.

1265–1266. L. 1266<sup>a</sup> is parenthetical, *þæs*, 1266<sup>b</sup>, being governed by *blon*, l. 1265<sup>b</sup>; cf. l. 1380<sup>b</sup>.

1266. Cf. *Gu.* 664: *ācol* for *ðām egsan*; *Dan.* 726: *ācul* for *þām egesan*.

1268. *wuldres gim*. 'The jewel of the heavens,' 'the sun'; for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. Cf. *Ph.* 92: *glædum gimme* = *Godes condelle*, l. 91; *Chr.* 695–696: *sunne ond mōna . . . gimmas swā scýne*. See l. 31, note; 50, note.

1269<sup>b</sup>–1270. Cf. *Beow.* 497<sup>b</sup>–498: *þær wæs hæleða drēam duguð unlýt*.

1270. *ding*. The only recorded occurrence of the word.

1271<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 1202<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 39: *werodes breahrtme*; *Ex.* 65: *werodes bearhtme*. Cf. *Ap.* 21<sup>b</sup>.

1274. The subject here, as frequently, is omitted after *ðā*. For the phrase *eft swā ær*, cf. l. 1341, 1476; *Gu.* 361; *Beow.* 643, 1787.

1275. *swāt yðum wēoll*. So *Beow.* 2693. Cf. ll. 1240, 1546.

1275–1276. *Lifer* in the sense 'blood, clotted blood' is not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, but cf. Icel. *blōðlifr*, f. pl., 'clotted blood' (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 69). It seems better stylistically to take *blōð* and *lifrum* together as a compound than to separate them as is done by all Edd.; the subject of *swealg* is then *swāt*,



**blōdlifrum** is the logical object (cf. *Spr.* II, 505, for examples of *swelgan* with inst.), **hātan heolfre**, l. 1277, is instrumental. The passage means that the fresh blood breaking out from Andrew's wounds flowed over, or swallowed up, the clotted blood, the marks of his old wounds. See Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 17.

In the corresponding passage, the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 103, ll. 4-6) reads: *Kal πάλιν αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἐκολλῶντο ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ῥέον*; the *Legend*, p. 123, l. 6, reads: mid þī þe sē ēadiga Andrēas wæs togen, his lichama wæs gemenged mid þære eorðan, swā þæt blōd flēow ofer eorðan swā wæter. Gn., *Spr.* II, 185, glosses **lifrum** as inst. pl., 'die Leberklumpen im ausfliessen-den Blut, gelibertes Blut.' The word **lifrum** and the passage in which it occurs are not cited by B.-T.; Simons, p. 92, glosses **lifrum** as 'blutklumpen, geronnenes blut?' and **swealg**, p. 131, as 'reichlich fliessen?'.

1277. **hrā weorces ne sann**. Translate 'His body did not cease from, or have relief from, suffering.' Gn., *Spr.* II, 453, glosses **sann**, from **sinnan**, 'reputare, curare, rationem habere alicujus'; *Dicht.* translates 'die Leiden fühlte kaum noch der wundenmatte Leib.' Kemble translates 'the body thought not of work, weary with wounds'; Root as *Dicht.*; Hall, 'his wound-weary body was unconscious of suffering,' adding in a note that Andrew 'had swooned from the brutal treatment'; B.-T., p. 877, 'care for, mind, heed,' and Simons, p. 124, 'verlangen nach.' The above explanations receive some confirmation from Icel. **sinna**, 'mind, care for, give heed to' (Cleas.-Vig., p. 529); but neither the meaning 'regard' nor 'feel' fits the context in the present passage. There is nothing in the Greek to justify the inference that Andrew was unconscious. A more probable explanation of the word is that offered by Sievers (*PBB.* XI, 352-3 53): **sinnan**, primarily 'go, pass' (cf. *Gen.* 1853), develops in the two directions 'strive, seek for' (cf. *Gu.* 290), and 'pass away, cease,' as in the present passage. Sievers would translate, therefore, 'kein aufhören, keine unterbrechung des leids dem wundenmüden leibe.' The same explanation is offered for *Rim. Poem* 52: **sār ne sinnið**, 'sein schmerz hört nicht auf.'

1278. **wōpes hring**. The phrase refers to the sound of Andrew's lamentation, and is so understood by most of the commentators. Gm., p. 130, translates 'fletus intensissimus, quasi circulatim erumpens'; Gn., *Spr.* II, 106, **hring**, 'sorrow,' II, 732, **wōp**, 'lamentatio,' etc., *Dicht.*, 'des Wehklagens Laute.' B.-T. follows Gm., and Zupitza and Kent, in the glossary to the same phrase as it occurs in *Elene*, follow Gn.; Simons, p. 82, also follows Gn.; K. translates 'then came the ring of weeping'; Root, 'The sound of weeping'; Hall, 'a cry of great sorrow.' But Cook, *Christ*, pp. 126-127, comparing the phrase as it occurs in *Chr.* 537 with the present passage and the two other occurrences of it, *El.* 1131 and *Gu.* 1313, excludes the notion of sound or noise, and thinks that the phrase means only tears; represented as issuing from the troubled bosom, and gushing from the eyes, the succession of drops may 'be thought of as pearls upon a string, or as beads in a necklace or rosary.' 'Perhaps the idea of **wōpes hring** might be suggested to the modern reader by "circling fountain of tears."' But this ingenious explanation hardly takes sufficient account of the fact that **wōp** usually signifies sound, tumult, clamor; cf. *Spr.* II, 732, and cf. *herewōp*, Icel. **ōp** (Cleas.-Vig., p. 472), and MnE. *whoop*. In the passage in *Andreas*, in particular, **wōpes hring**

appears to be equivalent to *worde cwæð*, l. 1280. Cf. also *Chr.* 992. Again, although the usual meaning of *hring* is 'annulus, circulus' (cf. *Spr.* II, 106), the meaning 'sonus' is supported by *Beow.* 327: *byrnan hringdon*; *Sal.* 366: *searo hringeð*. *Wōpes hring* might be translated 'a ringing cry'; cf. the construction *ātres drync*, 53. At any rate tears could hardly be spoken of as coming through the hero's breast, 1279<sup>a</sup>. In l. 1280<sup>a</sup> the expression is best taken as figurative; see 769<sup>a</sup>. The phrase *wōpes hring* is used in *Elene* as an expression of joy; in the other three passages, of grief.

1279. *blāt*. As noun, this is the only occurrence of *blāt*. It is appositive to *hring*, 1278: 'then came a ringing cry, a moan, issuing from the breast of the hero.'

1284-1286. Cf. *Gu.* 609-613:

ond ic þæt gelyfe    in liffruman  
ēcne onwealdan    ealra gesceafta,  
þæt hē mec for miltsum    ond mægenspēdum,  
niðða nergend,    nāfæc wille  
þurh ellenweorc    ānforlætan.

1288. Cf. *Jul.* 119-120: *Ic þæt gefremme gif mīn feorh leofað, gif þū unrædes ær ne geswīcest*.

1291. Cf. *Chr.* 775: *þæt hē ūs gescilde wið sceapan wæpnum*.

1293-1295. The object of *bysmrian* and *belecgan* is not expressed.

1294<sup>a</sup>. *fācnes frumbearn*. So also of Satan, *Gu.* 1044; cf. *godes frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Sal.* 470; *frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Chr.* 507. — 1294<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 453.

1296<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 87: *sē atela gæst*.

1300-1301. Cf. *Acts* XXIII, 2. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 104, l. 1) says merely: *Τύπτετε αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα ἵνα μὴ λαλῇ*.

1301. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, notes that the subject of *reordap* is unexpressed after *nū*.

1305. *under niflan næs*. Cf. l. 1710; *Beow.* 1912; and elsewhere frequently, where the word *næs* means 'sea-headland.' The sun here, as in l. 1457, sets in the ocean. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 742-743, gives numerous illustrations of this wide-spread mythological belief.

1306. *brūnwann*. 'Night is described as *brunwann*, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from "dark." Milton twice uses a similar expression:

To arched walks of twilight groves  
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves.

*Il Pens.* 133-134.

And where the unpierc't shade  
Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.

*Par. Lost* 4. 245.'

Mead, *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 194. Professor Hart suggests that the compound may be a noun = 'crepusculum.' This is the only occurrence of it.

1308. *dēor ond dōmgeorn*. Cf. *Rid.* XXXII, 16: *dēor dōmes georn*.

1309. *sceal*. Tense-sequence would demand *sceolde*.

1310<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 238: *wærfæst wunade*.

1311. **seofona sum.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 22: Ðæt dēofol þā genam mid him ~~on~~ <sup>n</sup> ðpre seofon dēoflo; so also the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 104, l. 5. Cf. *Matt* ~~II~~ <sup>II</sup>, 45.

1312. Cf. *El.* 901: eatol æclæca yfela gemyndig. The combination *atol æglæcc* ~~—~~ <sup>a</sup> occurs also *Beow.* 592, 732, 816, and *Sat.* 161.

1313. **morðres mǣnfræa.** So *Jul.* 546; *El.* 941. — **gescýrded.** 'Shrouded or ~~—~~ <sup>r</sup> enveloped.' Gn., *Spr.* I, 449, supposes *gescryded*, 'vestitus,' or *gescyrtded*? Traut- ~~—~~ <sup>t</sup> mann, quoted by Simons, p. 60, interprets **gescýrded** = *gescynded* = *gescended* ~~—~~ <sup>s</sup>, 'confusus'? A form *gescyrd* occurs, however, as Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 17) points ~~—~~ <sup>s</sup> out, in *Eadwines Psalter* (E.E.T.S., No. 92), *Ps.* XCII, 1; cf. B.-T., p. 438.

1315<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 189: hospwordum spræc.

1316. Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 478) points out that the scansion of the line become ~~—~~ <sup>s</sup> normal if the name **Andrēas** is omitted.

1317. **hwær.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 10: ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις σου καὶ ὁ φόβος σου, etc. ~~—~~ <sup>—</sup>.

1319. **gild gehnægdest.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 13: καὶ ἐπόλησας τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν ~~—~~ <sup>-v</sup> οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν θυσαί ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν ~~—~~ <sup>—</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 146: þā þū goda ūssa, gield forhogdest.

1322. The punctuation here, l. 1322<sup>a</sup> in parentheses and a comma after **þīn** ~~—~~ <sup>—</sup>, 1321<sup>b</sup>, was suggested by Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 17. The Edd. have only a comma ~~—~~ <sup>a</sup> after **þīn**.

1323<sup>b</sup>. See 1393<sup>b</sup>.

1324. **Hērōdes.** See *Introd.*, p. lviii. — 1324<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 2924.

1326–1327. Cf. *Jul.* 481–483<sup>a</sup>: Sume ic rōde bifealh, þæt hī hyra drēorge ~~—~~ <sup>on</sup> hēan galgan lif ālētan; *ibid.* 310: þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende; *El.* 48 ~~—~~ <sup>o</sup>: on galgan his gæst onsende. K. marks the hemistich in l. 1327 after **his**.

1328–1329. Cf. *Jul.* 11–12: Fōron æfter burgum swā hē biboden hæfde, þegn ~~—~~ <sup>as</sup> as þrýðfulle.

1331. **āttre gemæl.** This is the only occurrence of *gemæl* as adjective, but ~~—~~ <sup>cf.</sup> *Jul.* 591: fyre gemæled. On the use of poisoned arrows, cf. Cook, *Christ*, p. 1 ~~—~~ <sup>49</sup>.

1334–1335. Cf. *Gu.* 377–378: wæron hý rēowe tō ræsanne gifrum grāpum; ~~—~~ <sup>Gu.</sup> 968–969: ac hine ræseð on gifrum grāpum.

1335. **hine.** The antecedent is Andrew; cf. l. 1143.

1337–1340. Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 31: and hīe gesāwon Crīstes rōde tācen ~~—~~ <sup>on</sup> on his onsīene; hī ne dorston hine genēalæcan, ac hraðe hīe on weg flugon.

1340. **forhte, āfærde.** Construe both as adjectives agreeing with **hīe**, 1339. So *Chr.* 892; *Ph.* 525: forht āfæred. *Dicht.* translates 'von Furcht bestürzt'; K. omits **āfærde** in text and translation; Root, 'sorely afraid'; Hall, 'fearful, affrighted.' Simons, p. 42, takes **forhte** with Grein, *Dicht.*, as a noun; *Spr.* I, 326, however, glosses *forht* in all three of the above passages as adjective. **Bright** regards **forhte** in the parallel passage in the *Christ* (cf. Cook's *Christ*, p. 179) as adverb. But two coördinate adjectives without connective in the same half-line are occasionally found, e.g. 759, *Chr.* 953, 993, 1059, 1116, 1193, 1507, etc. See 494, note. — **on flēam numen.** The only occurrence of this form of expression ~~—~~ <sup>is</sup> cf. 1386, and *Jul.* 630: on flēam sceacan.

1342<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 246.

1343. **rincas mīne.** So *Gen.* 2880, in direct address.

1348. *gā þē sylfa tō*. Cf. ll. 340, 505, 860. But the construction of oblique form with a nominative *sylf*, *sylfa*, is also frequently found; cf. Wülfing, I, 355, for numerous examples.

1351<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 604. — 1351<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 1469; *Ap.* 17: *aldre genēðde*.

1352–1356. Translate ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, teach thee something better at this sword-play, before thou openly make attack, raise the tumult of battle, no matter how it turn out for thee at the conflict.’ The better plan which they propose is given in ll. 1356 ff. Reading *weald þū* with Grimm, K. translates ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, at the play of men teach thee better, before thou again attempt war, the rush of battle; guard thyself the better in the change of blows.’ *Dicht.* translates ‘Leicht mögen wir dir, liebster der Männer, in dem bitteren Kampf zum Besseren raten: ehe offen du zum Angriff schreitest, zu dem Waffengraus, sieh wol erst zu, wie dir’s beim Gegenschlage gehe!’ The other translations follow Grein. B.-T., p. 1172, also takes *weald* as imperative of *wealdan*, ‘decide thou how it shall happen to thee.’ The more probable reading is that of Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 17) and Simons, p. 150, who take *weald* as conjunction, ‘however’; for examples cf. B.-T., p. 1171.

1355<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 19: *wiges wōma*; *Jul.* 576: *wiges wōmum*.

1358. *wræcsið*. The word here, as in l. 1431, is used in the generalized sense of ‘affliction, sorrow.’ Its specific and usual meaning is ‘exile,’ e.g. *Beow.* 338; in *An.* 889 it is used in the sense of ‘exiled from heaven,’ as also in *Gu.* 595, 1047. Cf. B.-T., p. 1270.

1359<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 425.

1361. *witum bewæled*. Cf. *Gu.* 396: *witum wælan*. K. translates ‘stained with torments’; but cf. B.-T., p. 1153, for examples of the word *wælan* in the sense ‘torment, afflict.’

1367. *hrōðra lēas*. Cf. *Jul.* 390: *hrōþra bidæled*.

1368<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 369.

1371. *unfyrn faca*. Cf. *Hy.* IV, 42: *ful unfyr faca*. The scansion of the half-line is  $\underline{\text{ }} \underline{\text{ }} | \cup \times$ .

1376. Supply in sense, with Ettmüller, *mæg ālysān*.

1377<sup>b</sup>–1385. See *Introd.*, p. lvii.

1379<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 771.

1380. *in wræc wunne*. The primary meaning of *winnan* is ‘to struggle, oppose’; from this is developed a passive sense, ‘endure, suffer.’ For examples of the second sense, cf. *Chr.* 1272, 1428, *Gen.* 1014; and for the opposite development, a verb meaning ‘to suffer’ becoming active, ‘to perform, show forth,’ cf. *ādrēogan*, 164, note.

1384<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1190<sup>a</sup>, note.

1393. *hit ne mihte swā*. So *Beow.* 2091; cf. *Rid.* XXX, 6: *gif hit swā meahte*; and for numerous other examples of omission of infinitive, *Spr.* II, 268, and Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 2.

1407. *on dæges tīde*. A contrast is evidently intended; Andrew compares his three days of suffering, l. 1414, with the one day of Christ’s suffering on the cross. The *Legend*, p. 124, l. 17, reads: *āne tīd on rōde þū þrōwodeſt, and þū cwæde*, ‘Fæder, for hwon forlēte þū mē?’ *Nū iii dagas syndon syððan*, etc. The

Greek version (Bonnet, p. 107, l. 11) gives three hours as the period of Christ's suffering, following thus *Matt.* XXVII, 46. *Dicht.* translates 'an einem Tage'; K., 'in the day-time'; Root, 'that day when from the cross'; Hall, 'a day's length.'

1413. *hwæt forlætest ðū mē?* Cf. *Matt.* XXVII, 46.

1415<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 264. — Baskervill and Wülker place a question-mark after *wītu*. But this is a statement of fact, the question being ended in l. 1413<sup>b</sup>.

1418–1424. This passage is evidently an elaboration of *Matt.* X, 30, which is preserved in *Legend*, p. 124, l. 23: *Gif gē mē gehyrað, and gē mē bēoð fylgende ne ān loc of ēowrum hēafde forwyrð.*

1421. *oððeoded*. The word need not be taken as a finite verb, as Gm. and Etm. suggest, but as a participle, *dæl* being coöordinate in construction with *synu* and *bān*.

1425. *tōslopen, ādropen*. The only occurrence of *ādropen*; for examples of *tōslopen*, cf. *Spr.* II, 548, and Sawen, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 130. The misreadings *toslowen, aðrownen*, have been the occasion of much unnecessary discussion.

1430. *hlōðrode*. Perhaps the form should be changed to the more usual *hlēoðrode*; but cf. l. 504, *snōweð* for *snēoweð*.

1433. *mundbyrde*. The term *mundbyrd* (see 724, 1632) is a technical one in Anglo-Saxon law. It means 'surety' or 'protection,' and definite fines were imposed for the violation of the *mundbyrd*. "The king's *mund* . . . seems originally to have been 120 shillings. This sum was subsequently doubled . . ." (Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 125). See Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in A.S. Law*, p. 374 ff., and passim. The Lord offers Andrew his safe-conduct.

1435. *sōð*. Perhaps *sōð* in l. 644 is also to be taken as adverb. Cf. *Spr.* II, 462, for other examples.

1436. *myclan dæge*. Cf. *Chr.* 868: *sē micla dæg*; *Jul.* 723: *on þām miclan dæge*; so also *Soul* 50, 89. Cf. also *Beow.* 978: *miclan dōmes*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 136: *ondrædon ūs þone micclan dōm and ðā micclan wita*; p. 167: *understandan þone miclan dōm þe wē ealle tō sculan*. The phrase is evidently due to a recollection of a Biblical phrase; cf. *Joel* II, 11, 'magnus enim dies Domini, et terribilis valde'; II, 31, 'veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis'; *Acts* II, 20, 'dies Domini magnus et manifestus,' etc. Cf. MnE. *Great Day*; see *NED.* s. vv. *day* and *great*.

1437–1440. See *Matt.* V, 18.

1441. *swā* = 'where.' See 1449, 1582; *Chr.* 984; *El.* 971, for similar use of *swā*.

1443. *līces lāelan*. The emendation is made on the strength of the parallel to *Gu.* 670–671: *Ne sȳ him bānes bryce ne blōdig wund, līces lāela ne lāþes wiht*. *Lāelan*, acc. sg., is thus appositive to *bāngerec*, as in *Gu.* it is appositive to *bānes bryce*. Cf. 1473–1474. K. apparently understands *līces lāelan* to be an amplification of *blōdige stīge*, 1442<sup>b</sup>; he translates 'where thy blood poured forth through the breaking of bones a bloody path, the body's spots.' Gn., *Dicht.*, takes *lāelan* as object of *gesēoh*, 1441: 'wo durch Verwundung sich ergoss dein Blut auf die Gefilde! Sieh die blutigen Steige und auch des Leibes Striemen.'

1443<sup>b</sup>–1444. Cf. *Gu.* 284–285: *ne gē mē lāþes wiht gedōn mōtun*.

1445. Cf. *Jud.* 181: *þe ūs monna mæst morðra gefremede*.

1447<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 2753.

1449. *blædum gehrodene*. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, l. 4: *geblōwen trēow wæstm berende*.

1454. *ān ne forlæte*. 'That thou didst not abandon me.' See 1287, 1642, 1669. Cf. *Ps.* CXVIII, 8: *ænne ne forlæte*; *Jul.* 104: *ān ne forlæte*. W. retains the MS. reading, regarding it as a form of the present tense; the other Edd. change to *forlete*, preterit. The form is evidently preterit, but need not be changed: cf. 302, *forlætan* = *forlēton*; 609, *-hægende* = *-hēgende*.

1456-1457. See 1305, note.

1458. *feorðān sīðe*. Really only the third time. The first time is indicated in l. 1250, the second in ll. 1305 ff.; in l. 1391 we are told that he was taken out to be tortured for the third time, and the return to the prison would consequently be the third time. The *Πράξις* and the *Legend* simply say that he was taken back again to the prison.

1460. *cræfta gehygd*. The phrase is evidently equivalent to *mōd*, l. 1461. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 108) says merely that they hoped to find Andrew lifeless in the morning. *Dicht.* 'die Kraft des Mutes,' K. 'the thought of power,' Root 'the hero's mighty soul,' Hall 'the doughty spirit, the dauntless courage.' A somewhat similar expression is *cræftes miht*, 585, also *El.* 558, *Chr.* 1145. Dr. Blount suggests *cræftgan*, gen. sg. of *cræftga*, appositive therefore to *magorædendes*, l. 1461, for *cræfta*.

1461<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 226, 326, 363, 439.

1462<sup>b</sup>-1463. Cf. *Jul.* 242<sup>b</sup>-243: *Ðā cwōm semninga in þæt hlinræced hæleða gewinna*.

1464. *sýnne*. The spelling *y* for *i* appears also in *scýna*, 766; *týres*, 105.

1467. *hāles*. *Hāl* as noun does not occur, and the form may be taken as adj. here, agreeing with *līchoman*. K., 'commanded his body to enjoy safety,' Root, 'bade him once again soundness enjoy,' and Simons, p. 82, take *hāl* as a noun.

1469. *mægene rōf*. Also l. 1676; cf. *Beow.* 2084: *mægnes rōf*.

1469-1477. Cf. *Jul.* 589<sup>b</sup>-594<sup>a</sup>:

Ðā gēn sīo hālge stōd  
ungewemde wlite; næs hyre wlōh ne hrægl,  
ne feax ne fel fýre gemæled,  
ne līc ne leoðu. Hēo in līge stōd  
æghwæs onsund, sægde ealles þonc  
dryhtna Dryhtne.

Also *Dan.* 437-440:

næs hyra wlite gewemmed ne nānig wrōht on hrægle,  
ne feax fýre beswæled, ac hīe on friðe Drihtnes  
of ðām grimman gryre glade trededon  
glēawmōde guman on Gāstes hyld.

1470. Translate 'from his prison he gave thanks unto the Lord, healed of his grievous tortures.' A parallel to *heardra wīta* occurs in *Jul.* 56. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates this line as follows: 'heil von der Haft der harten Qualen'; K., 'whole from his captivity, of the savage torments'; Root, 'freed from the bondage of his grievous pains'; Hall, 'Freed from the baleful bondage of torture.' But of

**hæfte** connects logically with l. 1469<sup>b</sup>, not with **hāl** or **heardra wīta**. **Hear** ~~dra~~ **wīta** is gen. pl. dependent on **hāl**, as e.g. *Beow.* 1974: **heaðolāces hāl**.

1474. Apparently there has been a general transposition of the parts of ~~his~~ passage in the MS.; it should read **lāðe gelenge nē līces dāel**. A parallel ~~to~~ **lāðe gelenge** is *Jul.* 371: *leahtrum gelenge*; with **līces dāel** cf. *An.* 1421. ~~The~~ sense of the passage is, 'nor bloody wound, of harmful nature, nor part of ~~his~~ body made wet with gore from sword-wound.' See my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 4, ~~108~~. 1476<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 898.

1477. Fritzsche, *Anglia* II, 441, calls attention to the break in the narrat ~~ive~~ after l. 1477, due, he thinks, either to the fact that the poet grew weary of ~~his~~ subject and laid the poem aside for a time, or that the second part, ll. 1478 ff., was written by a different person from the first part. There is nothing in ~~the~~ poem to support either supposition. W., l. 1478, note, states incorrectly th ~~at~~ ~~W.~~ Fritzsche, followed by B., assumes an omission in the text after l. 1477 (~~W.~~ also gives the line incorrectly as l. 1478), but both assume merely a break in ~~the~~ narrative. See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

1478-1487. Translate 'Lo, I now for a time have set forth in words, in son ~~g~~ ~~ong~~, the story of the saint, the praise of that which he wrought — a story (**wyr** ~~rd~~) famous and beyond my power. Much is yet to tell, a lasting lore, that whi ~~ch~~ ~~ich~~ he performed in life, all after the beginning. That shall a wiser man upon ear ~~th~~ ~~th~~ than I count myself find in his heart, that from the beginning he knows all t ~~he~~ ~~he~~ hardships, the grim conflicts, which he endured.' This passage has been various ~~ly~~ ~~ly~~ punctuated and interpreted. The difficulties, with the main suggestions that ha ~~ve~~ ~~ve~~ been made, will be considered as they occur in the notes following.

1478. **hāliges lāre**. That is, 'the story of the saint'; cf. the equivalent phra ~~se~~ ~~se~~ **langsum leornung**, l. 1482, and with this cf. *Chr.* 44, *Gu.* 766: **lāre longsum** ~~e~~. In the *Christ* the allusion is to the fulfilment of prophecy; in *Gu.* the words a ~~re~~ ~~re~~ appositive to *wordum ond weorcum wuldorcyninges*, l. 765.

1479. Gm., p. 132, translates this line 'so weit ich bisher den preis des liedes wirkte, dichtete.' But the more probable reading is that of Gn. (*Spr.* II, 574), 'laudem ejus quod ille fecit.' Pogatscher (*Anglia* XXIII, 274) lists this passage as an example, though doubtful, of the omission of a subject after the relative **pe**. The subject of **worhte**, according to this explanation, would be Andrew. Perhaps **hē** should be inserted before **worhte**; at any rate it must be supplied in sense. **Lēoðgiddinga** is best taken not as gen. pl. but as inst. sg., appositive to **wor** ~~dum~~ ~~dum~~, 1480<sup>a</sup>. The present and *Ap.* 97 are the only occurrences of this compound; *gidding* is also of rare occurrence as simplex.

1480. **wēmdē**. Cf. l. 740; and *Soul* 64: **wemman mid wordum**. Gm., followed by K. and B.-T., p. 1187, explains this word as it occurs in *Andreas* as derived from *wemm*, 'spot, defilement,' a meaning which suits *Soul* 64, but not the other passages. **Wēman**, 'resound, make known,' cf. *Spr.* II, 657, may be compared with **wōma**, 'sound, tumult.' — W. has a period after **undyrne**, thus uniting the phrase **ofer mīn gemet** closely with what follows; so also Hall in his translation. Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 18) would read with the other Edd. **wyrd undyrne, ofer mīn gemet**. Cf. *Ap.* 42<sup>b</sup> for the meaning of **wyrd**.

1481. **secganne**. See 1160, note.







1491<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 83: heardre hilde; *Fight at Finnesburh* 28: heordra hilda.

1492. *fæste*. An adj. agreeing with *swēras*, 1493. B., p. 77, would retain the MS. reading, taking *fæstne* as appositive to *wealle*; he translates 'He wondrously saw by the wall, by the fortress,' etc. But neither the syntax of the passage nor the form of the word admits this construction.

1493. *under sælwāge*. 'In the hall or prison.' B., retaining the MS. reading, translates, p. 77, 'at the foot of the hall-plane'; W. translates 'aus dem felde heraus, vor der ebene.' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 18), *under sælwange*, as in *Rid.* IV, 2, means 'under the earth.' A comparison with the Greek justifies the emendation: *καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς εἶδεν στῦλον ἐστῶτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδριὰς ἐπικείμενος ἀλαβαστρινός* (Bonnet, p. 109, l. 8); and cf. *Legend*, p. 125, 14–15: *hē geseah on middum þæm carcerne swer standan, and ofer þone swer stānenne anlicnesse*. It seems best to take *under* in the sense here of 'in' (cf. ll. 95, 144, 940, 1005, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253, and *Spr.* II, 618, for other examples) rather than, with Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 18, in the sense 'dicht unter,' 'close by'; the *swēras* are within the prison, and Andrew himself is of course still in the prison, cf. 1458 ff.

The image mentioned in the *Πράξεις* and the *Legend* does not appear in *Andreas*, probably because the poet, following as he does the *Beowulf* (cf. *An.* 1490–1495, note), conceives of the *swēras* as pillars which hold up the roof of the prison. That *sweras* and not *speras* is the right reading is of course confirmed by the reading of the Greek and the prose version.

1494. *storme bedrīfene*. Cf. *Wand.* 76: *winde bewāune weallas stondaþ*.

1495<sup>a</sup>. See 1235, note.

1498–1503. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, ll. 17–21: *Ondræd þē Drihten and his rōde tācn, beforan þæm forhtigað heofon and eorþe. Nū þonne, anlicnes, dō þæt ic bidde on naman mīnes Drihtnes Hælendes Crīstes; send mycel wæter þurh þīnne mūþ, swā þæt sīen gewemmede ealle þā on þisse ceastre syndon*. The change in the poem, of *þīnum stāþole*, l. 1503, was necessary, since the poet omits all mention of an image; cf. 1493, note.

1500–1501. Grein's interpretation of *heofonas* and *eorðan* as genitives after *fæder* is the correct one. Perhaps *heofonas* should be changed to *heofones*, but see 523, note. W., note to 1501, takes *heofonas ond eorðan* as amplification of *gesceafte*, 1499; this, however, supposes an improbable plural *eorðan*.

The allusion of the passage is to the day of judgment; cf. *Vision of the Cross* 103–111:

Hē ðā on heofonas āstāg; hider eft fundað  
on þysne middangeard mancynn sēcan  
on dōmdæge dryhten sylfa,  
æelmihtig God ond his englas mid,  
þæt hē þonne wile dēman, sē āh dōmes geweald,  
ānra gehwylcum, swā hē him ærur hēr  
on þyssum lānum life geearnaþ:  
ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan  
for þām worde, þe sē Wealdend cwyð!

1504<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gen.* 231–232: *Tigris . . . ēa inflēde*. — 1504<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps *hāteð* — 1505<sup>a</sup>, should be placed in this half-line.

1507. **wīdrynig.** The only occurrence of the compound.

1508. **geofon.** See 393, note. Retaining the MS. reading, Hall translates 'A streaming heaven.'

1508-1509. Gm., p. 133, 'wie glänzeſt du von golde!'; he cites also NHG. 'von golde ſein.' But K., correctly, 'Lo thou art than gold or gift of treasure more precious.' The translations all agree with K.

1511. **recene.** Translate 'awful mysteries.' The form **recene**, not mentioned by B.-T., is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* II, 370, and Simons, p. 113, as adverb; *Dicht.* translates 'offenbar,' K., 'at once.' But **recene** is better taken as adjective. Cf. *Ps.* CV, 18: *þe on Egyptum æðele wundur . . . and recene wundur on þām Rēadan Sæ*, translating 'Deus qui fecit magnalia in Ægypto, terribilia in Mari Rubro'; B.-T., p. 789, explains the word here as meaning 'coming swiftly and so causing terror,' and cites, in support of this meaning, *fær* and its compounds. This meaning is also the one appropriate to the passage in the *Andreas*. — 1511<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 671: *reccan ryhte æ*; *El.* 280-281: *þā ðe dēoplicost dryhtnes geryno þurh rihte æ reccan cūðon*.

1514. **swā hit.** See 327, note.

1515-1516. There is nothing in the sources to account for the mentioning of Joshua and Tobias here. The allusion to Joshua, the successor of Moses (cf. *Numbers* XXVII, 18 ff.), is intelligible, but why should Joshua and Tobias be mentioned together? Professor Hart makes the very plausible suggestion that Tobias is a blunder for Caleb, who is intimately connected with Joshua in the Old Testament narrative, cf. *Numbers* XIV, 6; XXXII, 12. The Vulgate spelling of Joshua is *Josue*; of Moses it is *Moyses* in the nom., *Moysen* in the acc., the other forms being *Moysi*, *Moyse*.

1520<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1586; *El.* 86: *þurh þæs hālgan hæs*.

1525. **mid ærdæge.** Cf. 1527<sup>b</sup>. There is no allusion to the morning in the *Legend*, but the *Πράξις*, p. 110, l. 9, mentions the time, *πρωλας*.

1526. **meoduserwen.** The passage is an evident imitation of *Beow.* 767-769: *Denum eallum wearð . . . eorlum ealuserwen*, of the Danes on the occasion of Grendel's visit to Heorot. In both passages the general idea of **meoduserwen**, *ealuserwen*, is 'terror,' 'fright,' but the specific meaning or figure is uncertain, Gm., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, taking *scerwen* as participle, settles on the meaning 'effusum,' 'evomitum': the mead or ale was spewed forth as result of the fright. K. translates *scerpen* of his text by 'spilled.' Gn., *Spr.* II, 401, glosses *scerwen* as part. under *scerwan*, 'vergeuden,' 'verschütten?', *Dicht.*, 'der Meth ward vergossen nach dem Schmausgelage.' B. reads *scerpen* and translates, p. 78, 'The mead became sharp,' — i.e. terror arose because the mead became sharp or spoiled after the feast day.

Gn., note, suggests holding the two elements of his text, **meodu scerwen**, together as compound, and Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* VIII, 293-295, follows the suggestion of Grein's note, taking the word as compound noun formed like *edwenden* and compounds with *ræden*, in the sense 'mead-pouring,' Gn., 'methvergeudung?'. The passage would thus be an ironical allusion to the flood: 'there was a sufficient mead-pouring for all after the feast-day.' Heyne, *Beowulf*<sup>b</sup>, p. 93, accepts the word as compound but interprets it

somewhat differently: '*ealuscerwen*, *meoduscserwen* wäre im eigentlichen Sinne der Gegensatz von *meodu-ræden* (Grein, *Spr.* II, 239) und bezeichnete einen plötzlichen Ausgang oder eine plötzliche Wegnahme des Bieres. Das Bild mag schon frühe verdunkelt sein.' Still another explanation is offered by Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 19), who cites *Cura Pastoralis* 295, 6, *ðā him ðæt līð gescired was* (translating *digesto vino*), freely translated, 'als der rausch vorüber war.' With *gescired* Cosijn would connect *-scerwen*, remarking, 'dass durch einen plötzlichen schrecken ein zustand von nüchternheit wider eintritt, ist allbekannt: die bier- und schlaftrunknen Dänen werden also, wie die Marmedonier nach ihrem hungerschmaus wider nüchtern, der rausch nach dem feste war geschwunden.' Cf. the similar situation and phrasing in *Beow.* 128–129: *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp ūp āhafen, micel morgenswæg*, in which *æfter wiste* is to be taken, with Kock, *Anglia* XXVII, 223, and others, in the general sense 'after the feast,' 'after joy,' not as referring to the ravages of Grendel.

1527. *slæpe tōbrugdon*. Cf. *Gen.* 2665: *þā slæpe tōbrægd*. + *þā slæpe tōbrægd* 247

1531<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ap.* 59: *sweordræs fornam*; *Beow.* 557: *heapōræs fornam*. See 994<sup>b</sup>, note.

1532. *þurh sealtne wæg*. See 196, *sealte*, the same mistake being made by the scribe as in the present passage; in l. 196 the MS. has *s ealte*, with a letter erased after *s*. In the present passage the scribe has omitted to erase the unnecessary letter; probably temporary confusion with forms of *sculan* troubled him. But the passage still contains too many letters. *Sealt* = 'ocean' is not found elsewhere and is not a probable word. Reading *sealtes* as noun, *Dicht.* translates 'durch der Salzflut Tosen,' followed by the other translations. As adjective, however, *sealt* (cf. *Spr.* II, 434) is a conventional epithet as applied to the ocean. Cosijn would change therefore to *sealtne*, retaining *swæg*. But *sealtne swæg* = 'salt noise, tumult,' is meaningless. Evidently, in the general confusion of the scribe, an unnecessary *s* was prefixed to *wæg* = 'wave'. For this spelling, cf. 198, 601, 932; and cf. *Ex.* 333: *ofer sealtne mersc*; *Dan.* 323: *geond sealtne wæg*; and *An.* 748–749.

1535<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 140.

1538<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1292–1293: *wolde ūt þanon fēore beorgan*, of Grendel's mother; *El.* 134: *flugon on fæsten ond fēore burgon æfter stānclifum*, of the heathen Huns; *Mald.* 193–194: *þone wudu sōhton, flugon on þæt fæsten and hyra fēore burgon*, of the traitorous Godrinc and Godwig.

1539<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 1818; *Ph.* 416: *drohtað sōhton*.

1540. *eorðan ond wist*. A second form of the word *ondwist* occurs *Ex.* 16–18: *þær him gesealde sigora waldend . . . onwist ēðles Abrahames sunum*. Cf. the compound *nēawest*, *-wist*. Perhaps the form in the *Andreas* should be changed to agree with that in the *Exodus*; but *ond-*, *and-*, is of frequent occurrence in similar compounds. — 1540<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, l. 27: *send mē þinne engel of heofonum on fýrenum wolcne*; and l. 30: *fýren wolcen āstāh of heofonum*. Note the realism of the description of the fire in the *Andreas*, and see Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 96 ff., for a discussion of this theme in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

**1541. blācan līge.** 'Blāc is merely an ablaut form of the stem *blīcan*, 'to shine,' and perhaps hardly means white at all. In a few cases it evidently means pale or ghastly. It is properly applied to the fire, or the fire-light, and even to the red flame, or to the lightning, or to the light of stars. Of the twenty-eight instances where the word occurs—either alone or as part of a compound,—nearly all seem to lay emphasis on the brightness rather than on the whiteness.' Mead, *Pub. of MLA*. XIV, 177.

**1542<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Beow.* 2819: hāte heaðowylmas; *Gen.* 324: hātne heaðowelm; *El.* 579: hāttost heaðowelma. Cf. also *Beow.* 2522: heaðofyres hātes; *ibid.* 2547: heaðofyrum hāt.

**1545. wadu hlynsodon.** Gn., *Dicht.*, translates 'die Wasser rauschten,' but *Spr.* II, 745, he glosses *wudu*, nom. pl. for the present passage, with the meaning 'arbor,' and *Spr.* II, 89, inconsistently, *wadu*. Reading *wudu* with W., Hall translates 'wood snapped and crackled.'

**1547<sup>a</sup>.** So *Gen.* 1993; *Beow.* 138, *Ex.* 579: þā wæs ēaðfynde.

**1548. gehðo mændan.** Cf. 1665; *Chr.* 90: gehþum mænað; *Jul.* 391: gehðu mænan; *Beow.* 2267: gιοhðo mænde.

**1549. forhtferð.** Cf. 1596, and *Rid.* XVI, 13, *forhtmōd*. — **fūslēoð gōlon.** Cf. *Gu.* 1320: fūslēoþ āgōl; *Chr.* 623: fūslēoð galan.

**1550<sup>a</sup>.** So *Ph.* 522.

**1551. heretēam.** Translate, with B.-T., p. 533, 'plundering,' 'devastation.' Gm., and Grein, *Dicht.*, take the word in the sense of 'plundering expedition.'

**1555. earmlic ylða gedræg.** Cf. *Chr.* 999: earmlic ælda gedreag; and *An.* 43, note.

**1555<sup>b</sup>–1556.** Cf. *Beow.* 100–101: oððæt ān ongan fyrene fremman; *Beow.* 2210–2211: oððæt ān ongan deorcum nihtum draca rīcsan. — **1556<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Hy.* IV, 112: fēasceaft hæle.

**1557.** Cf. *Beow.* 2408: hæft hygegiomor sceolde hēan ðonon; *Chr.* 994: hēane hygegeōmre.

**1558–1559.** Cf. *Jul.* 341<sup>b</sup>–342: Nū þū sylfa meaht on sefan þīnum sōð gecnāwan þæt ic, etc.

**1561. sēo wyrd.** See 613<sup>b</sup>, note.

**1562. þæt is hēr swā cūð.** *Hæleðum cūð*, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 20), would mean 'universally, everywhere known,' a meaning which does not suit here; *hēr swā cūð* he translates 'das ist hier deutlich genug.' W. regards the metrically imperfect line as characteristic of the work of the poet of the *Andreas*.

**1563. þæs þe ic sōð talige.** So *Beow.* 532; *Chr.* 794.

**1565. ealle ānmōde.** So 1601; *El.* 1117. For the meaning cf. *Eadwine's Psalter* (E.E.T.S. No. 92) LXVII, 6: Ðū sōðlice man ānmōd, translating *tu vero homo unanims*. See 54, note. — **1565<sup>b</sup>.** So *Beow.* 256; *Ex.* 293. Cf. *Beow.* 3007 ff.: Nū is ofost betost þæt wē, etc.

**1566.** Cf. *Ap.* 90.

**1571. þær.** Perhaps one should read *þæt*.

**1574.** So *Beow.* 847.

**1579<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Jul.* 131: glēaw ond Gode lēof; *Gu.* 1035: glædmōd, Gode lēof.

1581. **smeolt wæs se sigewang.** So *Ph.* 33, *Gu.* 714.
1585. **geofon.** B., p. 78, retaining **heofon**, translates 'the lamentation cease'; 'these words,' he says, 'continue the thought in **þā wæs . . . æfter gyrne.**' Cf. ll. 1615, and 465, 533.
1589. **flōd fæðmian.** So *Beow.* 3133.
1591. **bisencte.** The only occurrence of the prefix **bi-** in the poem.
- 1596<sup>a</sup>. See 1549.
1598. **ðrāge hnāgran.** Genitive after **wēndan.**
1599. **māne faa.** So *Beow.* 978: **maga māne fāh.**
1602. **ðæt þe.** The usual form of this conjunction is **þætte**, cf. *Spr.* II, 572. Cf. the pronoun **ðætte**, l. 546.
1603. Cf. *Chr.* 687: **cynig alwihta cræftum weorðað.**
1604. As the line stands, the alliteration is defective. Perhaps one should read **þider** or **þyder** for **hider**, the action being conceived of from the point of view of the one who sends.
1606. **gumcystum.** Translate as adverb, 'virtuously,' 'righteously,' or with B.-T., p. 492, as adv. phrase, 'with virtuous zeal.' **Gumcyst** is found a number of times with adjectives, e.g. *Beow.* 1486: **gumcystum gōdne**; *Gen.* 1769: **gumcystum gōd**; *ibid.* 1810: **gumcystum til.** No other example of the adverbial use of **gumcystum** is recorded; but cf. *Wid.* 56: **hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten.** K. translates **gumcystum** as adj., 'that we this excellent man should gladly hear —'. But there is no authority for an adj. **gumcyst**. Cf. 1639 for another example of the absolute use of **hýran** (Kittredge).
1609. **curen.** The verb is plural to agree with the collective subject **cynn**, 1610<sup>a</sup>.
- 1610<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap.* 71<sup>b</sup>; *Chr.* 1540: **swylt þrowiað.**
1612. **gif gē teala hycgað.** Cf. *Beow.* 289: **sē þe wel þenceð**, likewise in didactic passage. See 458–460, note.
- 1616<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap.* 58; *Gen.* 1739; *Men.* 133; **feorh seleð**, *Beow.* 1370.
1617. **gōde orfeorme.** Cf. 406, note.
1618. **in wīta forwyrd.** So *El.* 764; *Sermon on Ps.* 28 (*Bibl.* II, 108) 10; *Jul.* 556. — 1618<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 116.
1619. **in fēonda geweald.** Cf. ll. 1273, 1317. The phrase of l. 1619 is also found in *Beow.* 808, 903; *Chr.* 1416; *Jul.* 159. — **gefered ne wurdan.** Not Christian-like prayer as the MS. reads.
1621. **hāliges gāstes.** See 1000, note.
- 1626<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap.* 25; **mīne gefræge**, *Beow.* 776, 837, 1955, 2685, 2837; *Gen.* 1173; *Ex.* 368; *Ph.* 176; *Wid.* 71; *Eadgar* 9, 34; *Men.* 27; *Metr.* XX, 82, XX, 248.
1627. Cf. *Beow.* 835–836: **þær wæs eal geador Grendles grāpe.** For the omission of the initial **g**, cf. *Gen.* 2557: **eall eador**; and see *Gram.*, § 212, note; *PBB.* IX, 208. One expects here a plural verb, agreeing with **eaforan**, l. 162 and **hīe**, l. 1628; but apparently for the moment the poet thinks of the members of the throng individually — 'each was then all united both body and soul.' Cf. *El.* 887–889:

hē sōna ārās  
gāste gegearwod,    geador bū samod  
lic ond sāwl.

**1628-1629.** Note the rime *æ̅r:fæ̅r*; also the rime in l. 1631. In l. 1627 there is assonance of the four stressed vowels *ea*, in l. 1624 of the three vowels *eo*, the fourth being *ea*, almost an assonance.

**1629.** Cf. *Jul.* 477-478<sup>a</sup>: *þæt hī færinga feorh ālēton þurh ædra wylm.*

**1633. cyninges cræftiga.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 114, ll. 9-10: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχάραξε τὸ πρὸν ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐποίησεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*; and *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 5-7: *And æfter þissum sē hāliga Andrēas hēt cyrican getimbrian on þære stōwe þær sē swer stōd.* These passages show that *mōdiga*, l. 1632, and consequently *cræftiga*, l. 1633, must refer to Andrew, *cyninges*, l. 1633, meaning God. K., reading *cræftigra*, translates 'then commanded the bold one, than a king more powerful'; Grein's suggested reading *cræftigan* makes the word accusative — 'then the valiant one commanded the king's architect,' etc.; but this reading is not carried over into *Spr.* I, 168, as W., note to l. 1633, states, the word there being glossed *cræftiga*, nom. sg. Cf. *Chr.* 11-14:

Nū is þām weorce þearf  
þæt sē Cræftga cume and sē Cyning sylfa,  
and þonne gebēte — nū gebrosnad is —  
hūs under hrōfe.

**1635. þurh fæder fulwiht.** Grein's emendation *fultum*, accepted by Simons, p. 46, is a slight improvement in the sense of the passage, but the change is not necessary; cf. ll. 1630-1631.

**1636<sup>b</sup>.** So *El.* 271.

**1637<sup>b</sup>.** So *Chr.* 394; *Gu.* 854; *Gen.* 10; *Vision of the Cross* 81; *Ps.* LVI, 6; **LVI**, 13; *side and wide*, *El.* 277; *Gen.* 118; *Ph.* 467.

**1640. fullwihtes bæð.** So *El.* 490, 1032; *Sat.* 546.

**1643.** Cf. *El.* 889-890: *þær wæs lof hafen fæger mid þy folce.*

**1645<sup>a</sup>.** So *Chr.* 1066; *Gu.* 1286.

**1647. se ār.** The change from the MS. *sio* is probably necessary: but cf. *Gram.*, § 337, note 2.

**1649<sup>a</sup>.** So (ln, tō) *Chr.* 519; *Jud.* 327; *El.* 821.

**1650. Sc., hine gehālgode.**

**1651. þurh apostolhād.** The phrase refers to Andrew, not Platan; cf. Hall, 'Through his [Andrew's] power as apostle (he was Platan entitled)' — **Plātan.** No mention whatever is made of the appointing of a bishop in the *Πράξεις*; cf. Bourauel, p. 84. But the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 9-10, reads: *And ænne of heora aldormannum tō bisceope hē him gesette, and hē [Andrew] hī gefullode and cwæð, 'Nū þonne ic eom gearo þæt ic gange to mīnum discipulum.'* The name Platan was evidently derived from the lost Latin source of the poem. It is found frequently in the *Martyrium Matthaei*, Bonnet, pp. 217-262, in the Latin version in the form Plato (cf. p. 228, l. 22), in the Greek version in the form Πλάτων (cf. p. 222, l. 14), as the name of the bishop of the Mermedonians. Cf. Lipsius, I, 616. For the quantity of the word, see Sievers, *PBB.* X, 493.

**1654. Sægde his fūsne hige = sægde þæt his hige fūs wære;** for similar construction with *secgan*, cf. *Gu.* 90; *Chr.* 137; *El.* 588. See also l. 1664<sup>b</sup>.

**1656<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Rid.* LXIV, 1: *Oft ic secga seledreame sceal fægre onþeon.*

1659. **weorc.** 'That was to the band a grief to endure.' Gm., Gn. *Spr.* II 677, B.-T., p. 1199, all retain the MS. reading **weor** as positive degree of *wyrce*; the present being the only occurrence of the form. W., l. 1659, note, would change to *weorce*, adj., citing *Beow.* 1417: *weorce on mōde tō geþolianne*; *Gen.* 2791: *weorce on mōde*; also *weorce, Jul.* 72, 135. But these constructions are not parallel to the present passage, and as Sievers (*Zft. f. d. Phil.* XXI, 358) points out, *weorce* in such constructions as *weorce on mōde* is primarily adverbial; the adjective form should be *wyrce*. The right reading **weorc** was suggested by Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 106, and is accepted by Bright, *MLN.* I, 11, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 20. Kluge points out the parallel passage in *Jul.* 569: *þæt þām weligan wæs weorc tō þolianne*.

1660-1661. **Hīe** is object of **gewunian**; for other examples of this construction, cf. *Beow.* 22; *Ph.* 481.

1663. Comparison with the *Legend* and the *Πράξεις* shows that the omission in the MS. here is inconsiderable; the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 19-27, reads: *Him ætīwde Drihten Hælend Crīst on þām wege on ansīne fægernes cildes, and him tō cwæð, 'Andrēas, for hwam gæst þū swā būton wæstme þīnes gewinnes, and þū forlēte þā þe þē bædon, and þū nære miltsiende ofer heora cild þā þe þē wæron fyliende and wēpende? þāra cirm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas. Nū þonne hwyrf eft on þā ceastre, and bēo þær seofon dagas, oþ þæt þū gestrangie heora mōd on mīnne gelēafan.'* This passage is a close translation of the *Πράξεις*, p. 115, ll. 6-13. B., reading as the MS., without interruption, places l. 1664<sup>b</sup> within parentheses and remarks (p. 78): 'As the MS. shows no vacant space, I have endeavored to get the following out of this passage: Then to him the God of glory appeared on the journey, and this word spoke the Lord of hosts: "The people in consequence of their evil deeds (their mind is ready (for death?)) go mourning, they lament their grief, men and women together; their weeping goes hastening forth, their mourning mood etc. makes itself heard."' B.<sup>2</sup>, p. 96, retains this reading, remarking, in answer to W.'s objection that l. 1664<sup>b</sup> refers to the departure of Andrew: '**is him fūs hyge**, their mind is sad, does refer to the departure of Andrew. For **fūs** = sad, tristis, see *Sprachschatz* I, 359, under **fūs**. Grein quotes this passage and understands it as I do. But he is mistaken, I think, in supposing that they are not also sad "on account of their sins" (**of firenum**). What would be so likely to occur to them on the eve of his departure as the remembrance of their former evil deeds and unholy lives, from which they had been rescued by Andrew? Hence they thought if he should leave them they should relapse into their former sinful state.' But the MS. is plainly defective here. Grein, *Dicht.*, supplies two lines after l. 1663:

Warum verlässest du die Leute denn so schnell,  
Da kaum erst ist bekehrt von seinen Sünden —

Root follows Grein; K. and Hall do not fill in the passage.

1664. **folc of firenum.** In the complete form this phrase was probably part of an interrogative sentence. See the corresponding passage of the *Legend*, 1663. note. — W. retains the MS. reading **his** = **is** on the ground that the form **his** is sometimes found in the Kentish dialect; but **his** is here more probably a scriba



error; cf. l. 323<sup>b</sup>, where **is** is written for **his**. — **fūs**. K., B. (cf. 1663, note), Root, and Hall translate 'ready for death'; but Grein, *Dicht.*, 'Ihnen ist freudlos der Sinn.' Other instances are given *Spr.* I, 359.

1666<sup>a</sup>. So *Jud.* 163.

1667. **murnende mōd**. So *Beow.* 50; *Rid.* I, 15.

1668. **mē fore snēowan**. Cosijn's reading is confirmed by the *Legend*, p. 127, l. 24: **þāra cirm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas**. For the order of words, cf. *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277: **mē fore standap**. It is probable, however, that **mē** is only part of the omitted passage; there is nothing in the *Andreas* to correspond to the phrase *on heofonas* of the *Legend*, and the alliteration in the half-line **mē fore snēowan** should fall on **f**, not **m**, as comparison with *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277, cited above, and *Gu.* 217: *swā ic ēow fore stonde*, proves. An omission is therefore indicated after l. 1667<sup>a</sup>. For the construction of **snēowan**, cf. l. 242.

1669. **ēowde**. There is no equivalent to this word in the *Legend* or the *Πράξεις*; the figurative use of **ēowde**, meaning the Christian congregation, aside from the translations of the *Psalms*, is found elsewhere in the poetry only in *Chr.* 257.

1670. **nīowan**. Lichtenfeld, p. 364, finds only one other example of a weak adj. after *swā*: *Mald.* 319, *be swā lēofan men*. **Swā** has here almost demonstrative force.

1677<sup>b</sup>–1678<sup>a</sup>. See 568<sup>b</sup>–569<sup>a</sup>.

1679. **sāwon**. The subject is unexpressed after **syððan** (Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263).

1681. **tīrēadigra**. The word is a genitive dependent on **weorod**, 1682. Grein, *Dicht.*, reading **tīr ēadigra**, translates 'Er unterwies drauf die Leute in dem Weg zum Glauben, glanzvoll begründend *der Beglückten Ruhm*'; Hall follows Grein, 'To the saints' honor [Andrew] added mightily.' K. and Root take the word as compound; so also Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 20).

1685. **in þrinnesse þrymme**. So *El.* 177; *Chr.* 599; *Gu.* 618; *Jud.* 86. For the quantity of **þrinnesse**, cf. *Gram.*, § 230, note 1.

1686. **in woruld worulda**. So *Ps.* LXXVIII, 14; CX, 5 (and frequently, translating *in saeculum saeculi*, *in saecula saeculorum*); *El.* 452; *burh woruld worulda* occurs *Chr.* 778 and *Ph.* 662. The whole passage, ll. 1683–1686, is an evident reminiscence of the closing formula usually found at the end of sermons, as in the following examples from the *Wulfstan* homilies: **Ān is ælmihtig God on þrȳm hādum, þæt is Fæder and Suna and Hālig Gāst; ealle þā þrȳ naman befēhð ān godcund miht and is ān ēce God, waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta. Him symle sȳ lof and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen** (*Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 107); **biddan wē . . . þæt wē magan and mōtan becuman tō ðām ēcan life þæs heofoncundlican rīces, ðær wē mōtan ā orsorhlice libban and rixjan mid ūrum Hælende and mid eallum his hālgum, mid Fæder and mid Suna and mid þām Hālgan Gāste ā in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen** (*ibid.* p. 215); **wē wæron þider gehātene and gelaðede tō ðām hālgan hām and tō ðām cynelīcan friðstōle, þær Drihten Crīst wunað and rixað mid eallum hālgum sāwlum ā butan ende in ealra worulda woruld, amen** (*ibid.* p. 265). For other examples, cf. *Wulfstan*, pp. 87, 190, 205, 242, 291, and the *Blickling Homilies*, and the homilies



of Ælfric. Kluge, *Eng. Stud.* VI, 324, commenting on the concluding passage of the *Seafarer*, points out its similarity to the set form found at the end of sermons, citing examples from the *Blickling Homilies*. Cf. also *Hy.* IV, 43-47 (*Bibl.* II, 110); and *Ap.* 107, note.

**1687. herigeas.** This whole passage, ll. 1687-1694, is the addition of the poet; the Πράξεις says merely: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 9-11); the *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 5-7) repeats the Πράξεις: and hē þær wunode mid him seofon dagas, lārende and strangende hira heortan on gelēafan ūres Drihtnes Hāelendes Crīstes. The word *herig*, the more usual form of which is *hearg*, *hearth*, is used in both the senses 'idol' and 'heathen temple,' see B.-T., p. 522. The allusion to **hell-trafum**, 1691, indicates that the word is to be taken in the second sense here. The exact meaning of the word in the sense 'temple' has been much discussed; see *Chr.* 485, and Cook's note; Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p. 590 ff.; De la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr. Vos, pp. 355-362; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 440-444.

**1688.** Cf. *El.* 1040: dēofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde.

**1689. gepollenne.** See 1160, note.

**1690<sup>a</sup>.** So *Jul.* 718.

**1693<sup>a</sup>.** See 598<sup>a</sup>, note.

**1694-1695.** Perhaps a recollection of *Beow.* 1402-1404: *Lāstas wæron æfter walddswabum wīde gesýne, gang ofer grundas*, where the allusion is to Grendel's mother.

**1696. dagas on rīme.** So *Gu.* 1108. Cf. l. 1673, and l. 1687, note.

**1697. wederburg.** 'Pleasant city.' This is the only occurrence of the word. It is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* II, 654, 'dem Wetter ausgesetzte Burg'; *Dicht.* translates 'die Wetterburg'; K., 'the city of storms'; B.-T., p. 1182, 'a town exposed to storms, a weather-beaten city.' But *weder* means specifically not only 'bad weather,' 'storm,' but also 'good weather,' 'warm weather'; see the examples cited by B.-T., p. 1182. Cf. *weder* also in compounds: **wedercandel**, 'sun,' 372 and *Ph.* 187; *wearme wederdagas*, *Az.* 96; *wedertācen*, 'sun,' *Gu.* 1267; *wederwolcen*, *Ex.* 75, the pillar of fire which guided the children of Israel. The compound **wederburg**, since the poet is here giving a favorable description of the city of the Mermedonians, means 'city exposed to (pleasant) skies.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 20) and Simons, p. 150, define the word as 'sun-city,' but there is no warrant for assigning the meaning 'sun' to *weder*. In using the epithet the poet may have thought of Mermedonia as situated in Ethiopia; cf. *Ælmyrcna*, 432 and note, and *Ap.* 64: **mid Sigelwarum**.

**1698.** Cf. *El.* 225-226: Ongan þā ōfstlice eorla mengu tō flote fýsan.

**1699<sup>a</sup>.** So *El.* 1137; *Ph.* 126, 592; *Gu.* 1079.

**1702-1705.** The poet looks forward to the martyrdom of Andrew; cf. *Ap.* 16-22.

**1704. syððan.** The metre of the half-line demands the full form **syððan**; the MS. form **syð** occurs only in this passage, although the form **syððan** is found twenty-one times in the poem. See *Introd.*, p. xlviii.

**1709. hāt æt heortan.** So *El.* 628; *Gu.* 1182, 1310; *Chr.* 500, 539.

**1710-1722.** This description of the departure of Andrew is considerably elaborated in the poem; neither in the *Πράξεις* nor the *Legend* is there any mention of a journey by water. The *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 11-15) reads: *καὶ πληρωθέντων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν, συνήχθησαν πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παιδίου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ προέπεμπαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες. Εἰς θεὸς Ἀνδρέου, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.* The *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 8-14) follows the *Πράξεις* closely, except that the city of the *anthropophagi* is mentioned by name: *Mid þī þe þā wæron gefyllede seofon dagas, swā swā him Drihten bebēad, hē fērde of [Mar]madonia ceastre efstende tō his discipulum. And eall þæt folc hine lædde mid gefēan, and hīe cwædon, 'Ān is Drihten God, sē is Hælend Crīst, and sē Hālgā Gāst, þām is wuldor and gewæld on þære Hālgan þrynnesse þurh ealra worulda woruld sōðlice ā būtan ende. Amen.'*

In the poem, l. 1718, *ofer middangeard*, is antithetic to l. 1720, *in heofonþrymme*, the latter phrase being paralleled by l. 1721, *on wuldre*; for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. In l. 1722 *mid englum* is parallel to *hālgum*, l. 1720.

**1713. æðelinga wunn.** Cf. l. 1223, note. The form *wunn* is late; cf. *Gram.*, § 72, note, and see *Ap.* 42, *wurd*.

**1714. ofer seolhpaðu.** Cosijn rejects both *-paðu* and *-waðu*, reading *seolhbaðu*, with *Rid.* XI, 11: *ofer seolhbaþo*, on the ground that *pað* is masculine; but cf. l. 788, *ofer mearcpaðu*.

**1722. Dæt is æðele cyning.** The phrase is reminiscent both of the opening of the *Beowulf*, cf. l. 11: *þæt wæs gōd cyning* (cf. *El.* 13<sup>b</sup>, *hē wæs riht cyning*), and of the close, ll. 3179-3183:

Swā begnornodon    Gēata lēode  
hlāfordes hryre,    heorðgenēatas;  
cwædon þæt hē wære    wyruldcyninga,  
manna mildust    ond monþwærust,  
lēodum līðost    and lofgeornost.

Cf. also *Beow.* 1885: *þæt wæs ān cyning*; *Hy.* III, 120: *swilc is mære cyningc*, also at the end of the poem; *Panther* 74<sup>b</sup>: *þæt is æbele stenc*; *Jul.* 224<sup>b</sup>: *þæt is sōð cyning*; and the concluding passage in *Sat.*, 295-298:

Swā wuldres weard    wordum herigað  
þegnas ymb þeoden;    þær is þrym micel,  
sang æt selde:    is sylf cyning,  
ealra aldor    in ðære ēcan gesceft.

## THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

1 ff. For the epic formula, cf. *An.* 1, note. Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 134) points out the general similarity of the opening of the *Ap.* to the opening of the *Beow.*, inferring from the genitive of l. 8<sup>a</sup>, dependent on l. 6<sup>b</sup>, that the poet of the *Ap.* read in the parallel passage in the *Beow.* a genitive *eaferan*, l. 19, and not a nominative *eafera*, as the MS. reads. The poet again alludes to his sources in ll. 23, 63, and 70.

1<sup>b</sup>. *sīðgēomor*. Brandl (*Archiv C.* 330–334) understands this word literally, ‘reisesorgend,’ and takes the poem, as a whole, as a traveler’s charm. He compares it with the charm printed in *Bibl.* I, 328–330, and supposes that the story of the fates of the Apostles was chosen as the subject of the body of the poem because the Apostles had all traveled widely. He considers it, therefore, as an independent poem which follows a native literary tradition. ‘Die Gattung der Reisesegen war eine altgermanische; wir finden sie, samt der dafür charakteristischen Ausmalung der Beschützer, im Ahd. und Altn. (vgl. Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* I, 2, 158 ff.); Cynewulf hat ihr wohl nur einen höheren Ton und christlicheren Sinn gegeben’ (p. 331). But Brandl surely was not acquainted with the sources of the poem, or with the type of ecclesiastical composition to which it belongs; for comparison of the poem with the approximate sources, and with related forms, deprives his theory even of its slight degree of probability. — For the meaning of *fand*, cf. *An.* 1485, note. K. connects l. 2<sup>a</sup> with 2<sup>b</sup>, placing a comma after *fand*; but cf. the examples given under *An.* 1485, to which add *Soul* 133: *funden on ferhðe*; *Gen.* 266: *æt his hige findan*.

2. Cf. *Gu.* 1050: *ne bēo þū on sefan tō sēoc*. — *samnode wīde*. Cf. *Ph.* 547: *lēoð somnige, wīte wōðcræfte*.

3. Cf. *Beow.* 3: *hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon*; *Beow.* 2695: *ellen cýðan*.

4<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 2; *Partridge* 10: *torhte tīrēadge*.

5<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *dryhtne gecoren*, *Dan.* 150, 736; *Gen.* 1818.

6<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 18: *blæd wīde sprang*; *ibid.* 1588: *hrā wīde sprong*; *Jul.* 585: *lēad wīde sprong*.

8<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 3, note.

9<sup>a</sup>. Cf. l. 90; and *Ex.* 382, 568; *hālige hēapas*, of the children of Israel.

10. Cf. *An.* 1194, and note.

11. *Rōmebyrig*. Simons also, p. 115, separates the elements of this word; but the combinations *Rōme-*, *Rōma-burh* are frequent in the prose; see B.-T., p. 801, for examples.

11<sup>b</sup>–15. Cf. *Men.* 120–130<sup>a</sup>:

Wīde is geweorðod, swā þæt wel gerist,  
hāligra tīd geond hāleða bearn

Petrus ond Paulus. Hwæt! þā apostolas  
 þēoden holde. þrowedon on Rome  
 ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse  
 furðor fīf nihtum folcbealo þrēalīc.  
 mārne martyrdōm. Hæfdon mænige ær  
 wundra geworhte geond wærþēoda.  
 swylce hī æfter þām unrīm fremedon  
 swutelra ond gesfura þurh sunu meotudes  
 ealdorþegnas.

11–22. The subject proper of the poem begins with l. 11. There is an evident reminiscence of the theme of *The Fates of the Apostles* in *Ju!* 302–311, in a passage in which Satan gives a list of his evil deeds:

Nēþde ic nearobregdum, þær ic Neron biswēac,  
 þæt hē æcwellan hēt Crīstes þegnas  
 Petrus and Paulus. Pilatus ær  
 on rōde āhēng rodera waldend  
 meotud meahhtigne mīnum lārum.  
 Swylce ic Egias ēac gelærde,  
 þæt hē unsnytrum Andreas hēt  
 āhōn hāligne on hēanne bēam,  
 þæt hē of galgan his gāst onsende  
 in wuldres wlite.

A ME. version of the whole subject is found in *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Morris, App. I, vol. III, p. 1587.

12<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 1641; 2476; cf. *An.* 8.

13. þurg. See *An.* 769<sup>b</sup>, note. — 13<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 1108: þurh nearusearwe.

14<sup>b</sup>. Note the strong demonstrative force of sē; cf. *An.* 613, 1561.

15. Cf. *An.* 543, and note.

16–22. Cf. *Men.* 215–218<sup>a</sup>:

ond þæs embe seofon niht sigedrihtne lēof  
 æþele Andrēas ūp on roderum  
 his gāst āgeaf, on Godes wære  
 fūs on forðweg.

17<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1351<sup>b</sup> and note.

19<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 200; *Ph.* 136.

21<sup>b</sup>. So *An.* 1202; *El.* 205. Cf. *An.* 1271<sup>b</sup>, note.

22<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 573. — 22<sup>b</sup>. So *An.* 966.

23–33<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Men.* 115<sup>b</sup>–119:

þænne wuldres þegn  
 ymb þrēotýne, þēodnes dýrling,  
 Iohannes in gēardagan wearð ācenned,  
 týn nihtum ēac: wē þā tiid healdað  
 on midne sumor mycles on æþelum.

24. æglæawe. Cf. *An.* 802, forlætan = forlēton. — æðelo reccan. John was the son of Zebedee and the brother of James (cf. *Matt.* IV, 21). K., Gn., and W. have only a comma after reccan; but the force of sē, l. 25, is demonstrative rather than relative.

25<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 262, 885. — 25<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1626<sup>b</sup>, note.

26<sup>b</sup>. *Criste lēofast*. See *John* XIII, 23; XIX, 26; XXI, 7, 20; and *Introd.* p. xxx.

27<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 72.

28<sup>a</sup>. See *An.* 146<sup>a</sup>, note.

29<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 425: þurh his mōdor hrif.

30<sup>b</sup>. So *Jud.* 237; *Wid.* 88; *Ps.* CI, 25.

31. Cf. *An.* 170.

32. Cf. *An.* 641 and note, and, for the phrase *sīðe gesōhte*, *An.* 845<sup>a</sup>, note. —

32<sup>b</sup>. As a descriptive epithet *swegl* usually occurs as the first element in compounds (see *Spr.* II, 504). But *swegledrēamas*, as K. reads, is impossible; the form should be *swegl-*, or *swegeldrēamas*. *Swegl* as adj. occurs once, however, beside the present passage, *Beow.* 2749: *swegle searogimmas*.

33<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 524, note.

33<sup>b</sup>–37<sup>a</sup>. James and John, according to *Matt.* IV, 21, were the sons of Zebedee. James was put to death by Herod (*Acts* XII, 1–2). See below, ll. 70–74, note. Cf. *Men.* 130<sup>b</sup>–136<sup>a</sup>:

þænne ædre cymð  
emb twā niht þæs tidlice ūs  
Iulius mōnað, on þām Iacobus  
ymb fēower niht feorh gesealde,  
ond twēntigum, trum in brēostum,  
frōd ond fæstræd folca lārēow,  
Zebedes afera.

34. Cf. *An.* 204, note. — *sweordes bite*. Cf. *Beow.* 2060: *æfter billes bite* *ibid.* 2259: *bite irena*; *Jul.* 603: *þurh sweordbite*.

37<sup>b</sup>–41. In the *Menologium*, ll. 80–82, Philip and James, brother of Jesus, are mentioned together:

Swā þi ylcan dæge æþele gefēran,  
Philippus ond Iacob feorh āgēfan,  
mōdige magoþegnas for meotudes lufan.

40–41. Cf. *El.* 179–180: on galgan wearð godes āgen bearn āhangen.

42<sup>b</sup>. *wurd*. The MS. reading is supported by *An.* 1713, *wunn*. Cf. also *An.* 1480.

43<sup>b</sup>. *aldre gelædde*. Grein's suggestion, *genēðde* for *gelædde*, is repeated by Simons, p. 56. The construction is plainly influenced by the construction with *genēðan*, which regularly takes the instrumental. But the construction *gelædan* with the instrumental probably resulted from the use of *gelædan* in the sense of *genēðan*, as in *Gen.* 1911: *Forðon wit lædan sculon, tēon wit of þisse stōwe, ond unc staðolwargas rūmor sēcan*.

44<sup>a</sup>. So *Crief.* 40.

46<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 604.

47. *hȳran*. A more appropriate word would be *herian*, 'praise,' parallel to *weorðian*, l. 48. Klaeber, *Modern Philology* II, 146, makes the same suggestion.

48<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Dan.* 208: *ne þysne wīg wurðigean*,

50-62. Cf. *Men.* 221-225:

Swylce emb eahta ond twelf  
nihtgerimes, þætte Nergend sylf  
þristh̄digum Thomase forgeaf  
wið earfeðum ēce rice  
bealdum beornwigan bletsunga his.

51. The phrase *ōðre dāelas* is apparently equivalent to 'the farther — i.e. the eastern — parts.' Kemble translates 'So Thomas also boldly adventured in India, on the other hand.' But *ōðre dāelas* probably represents the phrase *ad orientalem plagam* of the *Breviarium*, cf. *Introd.*, p. xxxi. The same phrase occurs in the *De vita et obitu utriusque Testamenti Sanctorum* of Isidorus Hispalensis, quoted by Bourauel, p. 105: *Thomas . . . evangelium praedicavit Parthis . . . et Indis, tenens orientalem plagam, ibique . . . lanceis transfixus occubuit in Calamia Indiae civitate.*

53<sup>b</sup>. The Edd. have only a comma after word.

55. *āwehte*. Cf. *An.* 584<sup>a</sup>, and B.-T., p. 61, for examples of *āweccan* in the sense of 'raise from the dead.' For the source of this episode, see *Introd.*, p. xxxii.

58<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1616<sup>b</sup> and note.

59<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1531<sup>b</sup>, note.

60<sup>a</sup>. B. and W. put a semicolon after *hand*.

61<sup>b</sup>. So *Sat.* 141, 253, 449, 617, 650; cf. *Sat.* 68: *dryhtnes liht*; *Sat.* 28: *swegles lēoht*; *Sat.* 85; *wuldres lēoman*.

62<sup>a</sup>. *sāwle*. Other examples of a nominative *sāwle* are *Chr.* 1327; *Soul* 10; *Metr.* XX, 162; cf. *Spr.* II, 162. — 62<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 1021.

63. So *El.* 364, 670, 852.

63-69. The death of Matthew is recorded in the *Menologium*, ll. 169-173, as follows:

þænne dagaena worn  
ymbe þrēotýne þegn unforcūð,  
godspelles glēaw gāst onsende,  
Māthēus his tō metodsceaft  
in ēcne gefean..

64<sup>a</sup>. *Sigelwarum*. This name, which is of frequent occurrence as a designation of the Ethiopians (cf. B.-T., p. 873; Bourauel, p. 127; and see *An.* 432, note), appears in the forms *Sigel-hearwa*, *Sil-hearwa*, *Sigel-waras*. The first element of the compound is *sigel-*, 'sun' (cf. *sigel-hweorfa*, 'heliotrope'), the whole word meaning 'sun-people.' The blackness of the Ethiopians is frequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon allusions to them, and this would be connected with the idea of the heat of the sun. See Ovid, *Met.* II, 235-236 (Kittredge); and cf. also *wederburg*, *An.* 1697 (and note), as the epithet applied to the city of the Mermedonians, which is placed by the poet of the *Andreas* in Ethiopia. —

64<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 435: *gif ðis yppe bið*.

66<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 378; *lēohte* (*lēohtne*) *gelēafan*, *El.* 491, 1137; *Gu.* 624, 1084; *Jul.* 653; *Metr.* V, 26; *Ph.* 479. Cf. *An.* 335<sup>b</sup> and note; *Ap.* 20<sup>b</sup>. — 66<sup>b</sup>. *gefālsod*. The same word is used of Beowulf when he destroys Grendel and Grendel's mother, *Beow.* 825, 1176, 1620.

68<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 620; *El.* 685 (*eorne*).

69<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 72<sup>a</sup>, note.

70-74. The New Testament mentions, besides James son of Zebedee (cf. above, ll. 33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>), a James son of Alpheus (*Matt.* X, 3; *Mark* III, 18), and a James brother of Jesus (*Mark* VI, 3). Whether or not these two latter are the same person has been a subject of dispute in the church since the second century (see Lipsius, III, 229). Tradition has very little to say about James son of Alpheus, but the legendary history of James brother of Jesus, is extensive. He was made the first bishop of Jerusalem; he was thrown from a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem by the angry Jews, and was then beaten on the head with a fulling-staff until he was dead; see Lipsius, III, 241, and Bede's *Martyrology*: *fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit*.

71<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1610<sup>b</sup> and note.

73. for æfestum. So *An.* 610; *El.* 496; *Gu.* 684; *Gen.* 982; *Mod.* 37.

75-84. Cf. *Men.* 189<sup>b</sup>-193<sup>a</sup>:

Wē þā æþelingas  
fyrn gefrūnan,    þæt hȳ foremære,  
Simon ond Judas,    symble wæron  
drihtne dȳre:    for þon hī dōm hlutan,  
ēadigne upweg.

77<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 641. — Thaddeus, also called Lebbaeus and Judas (Jude) (*Matt.* X, 3, *Acts* I, 13), was the brother of James.

78<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 848.

80<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Rid.* LXXII, 13: *weorc brōwade*, appositive to *earfoða dæl*, l. 14. *Beow.* 1721: *weorc brōwade*, appositive to *lēodbealo longsum*, l. 1722.

81<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 1238: *tō þām sōþan gefēan sāwel fundað*; *Chr.* 451; *sægdor* sōðne gefēan. See *An.* 598<sup>a</sup>, note.

83<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 733.

87<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Cræft.* 1-3: *þēla bið on foldan . . . geongra geofona þā þā gæstberend wegað in gewitte*; *El.* 61: *mōdsorge wæg Romwara cyning*; *El.* 655: *gnornsorge wæg*; similarly *Chr.* 1577; *Gen.* 2238. Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 178) distinguishes between *wegon*, 'bear,' and *wegan*, 'oppose, fight' (as in *Beow.* 2400). *Wegan* = *wāgon*; cf. *An.* 198, 601, 932, 1532, etc. — 87<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 726<sup>b</sup>, note.

88 95. Cf. 107 122, and, for the significance of this double ending, see *Introd.*, p. xlv.

90. Cf. l. 9; *An.* 1566.

91<sup>b</sup>. K. changes *hū* to *nū*, translating 'Now I am in need of friends favorable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land, seek alone,' etc. *Siev.* also changes *hū* to *nū* and puts only a comma after *fultomes*; *Skeat*, p. 410, follows *Siev.* In his translation of the passage, *nū* = 'now that.' The readings of *Siev.* and *Skeat* make a very cumbersome and ill-joined sentence. There is, moreover, no reason why the MS. reading should be altered here. For an example of *hū* = exclamation 'lo, behold,' cf. *An.* 63, and note. The complaint of loneliness and of the need of friends at death (cf. l. 110<sup>a</sup>) occurs also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 131 ff.

92<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 276. — 92<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1464: *þæt longe lif*, 'eternal life'; similarly, *Gu.* 1063, 1281: *tō þām longan gefēan*; *Gu.* 91: *þā longan gōd herede on heofonum*, antithetic to *þās eorþan . . . læne under lyfte*.





Des FEOH (besitzes) geniessen die menschen auf der erde; doch keiner der weltbewohner kann es immerfort: der REICHTUM muss vergehn,  
 das GUT im erbsitze; zerfallen muss später  
 des leibes flüchtiger schmuck, gerade wie die WOGE zergeht.  
 Wenn SORGE und LEIDENSCHAFT die kraft [der menschen] verzehren  
 in der bedrängniss der nacht, legt ihnen die not  
 den dienst des herren auf. Jetzt kannst du wissen,  
 wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.

Skeat (*English Miscellany*, pp. 418–419) translates the whole passage as follows:

Here may one who is skilled in penetration discover,  
 one who takes delight in poetic strains,  
 who it was that composed this Fit. *Feoh* [wealth] stands at the end thereof,<sup>1</sup>  
 which men enjoy while upon earth; but they cannot always be together  
 while dwelling in this world. *Wynn* [joy] must fade,  
*Ūr* [ours] though it be in our home. So must finally decay  
 the transitory trappings of the body, even as *Lago* [water] glides away.  
 Then shall *Cēn* [bold warrior] and *Yfel* [the wretched one] seek for help  
 in the anxious watches of the night. *Nȳd* [constraint] lies upon him,  
 the service due to the King. Now mayst thou discover  
 who in these words has been revealed to men.

Let him who loves the study of this poem  
 be mindful of one thing, namely, to give me help  
 and desire my comfort. I must needs, far hence,  
 all alone seek elsewhere a new habitation,  
 and undertake a journey, I myself know not whither,  
 out of this world. My new chambers are unknown,  
 my new dwelling-place and home. So will it be for every man,  
 unless he cleave fast to the divine Spirit.  
 But let us the more earnestly cry unto God,  
 let us send up our petitions to the bright heaven,  
 that we may enjoy the habitation,  
 the true home on high, where are the greatest of joys,  
 where the King of angels grants to the pure  
 an everlasting reward. Now his praise shall endure forever,  
 great and all-glorious, and his power with it,  
 eternal and freshly young, throughout all creation.

Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 183) translates:

- A man of cunning thought may here discover,  
 if he taketh pleasure in song,  
 F. who wrought this lay. *Wealth* cometh last,  
 the friend of man on earth, while he dwelleth in the world,  
 but they cannot keep together always.  
 U. W. *Our* earthly joy shall fade, and the frail gauds of the flesh  
 L. Shall afterwards decay, even as *water* glideth away.  
 C. Y. *Bold warrior* and *afflicted wretch* shall then crave help,  
 N. in the anxious watches of the night; but *Destiny* o'errules,  
 the King exacts their service. Now thou canst know  
 who was revealed to men in these words.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. at the end of the name, viz. Cynwulf, which ends with *Feoh* or *F*. (Skeat's note.)

The three well-known passages, besides the present one, in which Cynewulf gives his name in runic letters, are *Jul.* 695–710; *El.* 1257–1271; and *Chr.* 796–806. It has never been questioned that these are genuine signatures of the poet, although the methods of interpreting the runes differ widely. They have been explained as standing (1) merely for the letters of the alphabet forming the name Cyn(e)wulf; (2) for the names of the runes, e.g. **ƿ** (or F), **feoh** (money); **l** (or L), **lagu** (water, sea), etc. But since in certain passages the names of the runes, e.g. **u** (or U), **ūr** (bull), were meaningless, the runes have been taken to stand (3) for words similar in sound to their names; e.g. **u** (U) = **ūr** (of old), **ūre** (our), **ūr** (possession, wealth); and finally, (4) for other words beginning with the letters of the alphabet to which the runes respectively correspond; e.g. **u** (U) = **ufan** (from above), **unne** (possession). For a summary of the discussion of the Cynewulf runes, cf. Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, pp. 43–70; a briefer summary is given by Cook, *Christ*, pp. 151–165. For a general discussion of the runes and runic inscriptions, cf. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*; Sievers, in Paul's *Grundriss* I, 238 ff; Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*; and for further bibliography see Kahle, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 2–3.

The order of succession of the runes in the other passages is consecutive: *Jul.*, C Y N E W U L F; *Chr.*, C Y N W U L F; *El.*, C Y N E W U L F. The order in the *Ap.* is as follows: F W U L [C] [Y] [N]. The runes will be considered in their context as they occur. It should be observed that the reader is not left without help in determining the proper order of the letters in *Ap.* They are given in three groups, first F, second W U L, and third C Y N. F, we are told, stands at the end (of the name). L. 99<sup>b</sup> may have a twofold meaning, dependent on the double meaning of **mōton**: (1) they, wealth (**feoh**) and mankind (**eorlas**), may not always remain together; (2) they, the letter F and those which follow it, W and U, need not or must not stand together, that is, you must separate the F from the W and the U. Then 'after' the U comes the L, completing the second group. The poet then turns to his third group (cf. **Donne**, 103). The order is normal, first C and Y, then 'on' them lies or follows (cf. the common use of *licgan* in the sense of 'flow') the third letter, N. The first and alliterating syllable of 105<sup>a</sup> then unites these three letters in the syllable **cyn-**. Given the groups C Y N, W U L, and F, no Anglo-Saxon would have felt any uncertainty as to how they were to be joined.

96. **foreþances**. The MS. form **forþanc** does not occur elsewhere; for **foreþanc**, cf. *El.* 356; *Jul.* 227; *Beow.* 1060.

98<sup>b</sup>. **ƿ**. All commentators are agreed as to the value and the name of this rune. It is equivalent to F and its name is **feoh**, 'money,' 'wealth.' In the present passage it has the value both of a letter and of the word which is its name: 'F (or the letter **feoh**) stands at the end (of the name); earls enjoy it (i.e. **feoh**, wealth or property) on earth.'

Napier ends l. 98 with **ende**. His next line extends from **standeþ** to **brūcað**, followed by **ne . . . ætsomne**, which is made a full line by the insertion of *earðian* between **āwa** and **ætsomne**. By this line-division Napier gains one line in the numbering over Sievers and Trautmann, whose line-division is followed in the text.

99. The line as it stands makes a good hypermetric verse, and Napier's insertion of *eardian* is unnecessary. Ll. 98 and 102 are also hypermetric verses; cf. Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 1.

99<sup>b</sup>-100<sup>a</sup>. *ne mōton*. The meaning of the verb is to be completed by *wesan*, understood. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 2) would infer *brūcan* as completing the meaning of *mōton*, although he points out the possibility of the alternative construction, *mōton* sc. *wesan*. *Ætsomne* he understands in the sense of 'all,' as in *Sat.* 41: *þæt wē sceolun ætsomne sūsl þrowian*; *Beow.* 2847: *týne ætsomne*; and cf. *An.* 994. *Ne . . . hīe . . . ætsomne* he accordingly translates 'none,' 'not a one.' No other example of *ne . . . ætsomne* occurs. Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 54) follows Sievers. Skeat and Gollancz (see translations above) understand *wesan* as completing the meaning of *mōton*. This seems the natural and unforced meaning of the passage. The subject of *mōton* is *hīe*, i.e. *feoh* and *eorlas*; *woruldwunigende* is an appositive to *hīe*, 'wealth and mankind, these dwellers in the world, may not always be or remain together.' The succeeding lines maintain the parallel: wealth shall pass away, then afterwards the transitory graces of the body, i.e. mankind, *eorlas*, shall perish.


100<sup>b</sup>. *Þ*. All editors agree in supplying the rune *Þ* = W, in order to obtain an alliterating letter in the second half-line. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 3-4), Cosijn (*Verslag.* III, VII, p. 59) and Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 178) understand the rune as meaning *wyn*, 'joy' (Sievers, 'wonniglicher besitz'). Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 52) interprets it as *wela*, 'riches.' *Wyn*, 'joy,' gives an appropriate meaning.



101. *Ų*. The commentators differ widely in their interpretation of this rune, but the most reasonable explanation of it is that it stands for the letter U and for the poss. pronoun *ūr*, referring back to *wyn*. The proper name of the rune in the runic alphabet is *ūr* = the *urus*, a species of wild ox; cf. the description in the *Runic Poem* 4-6 (*Bibl.* I, 331):


*Ų* (*ūr*) byþ anmōd and oferhyrned,  
fela-frēcne dēor, feohteþ mid hornum  
mære mōrstapa: þæt is mōdig wuht.

The meaning '*urus*,' however, is appropriate to none of the *Cynewulf* passages. The following substitutions have been proposed for the passage in the *Ap*. Cosijn (*Verslag.* III, VII, p. 59) substitutes *ūr* = 'our,' the possessive pronoun, noting (p. 57) that *ūr*, instead of *ūre*, is a form of the possessive pronoun in the Vespasian Psalter. Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, pp. 181-182) follows Cosijn, adding the evidence 'that in a runic alphabet (*Domitian, A, 9*) the rune is actually glossed "*noster*."' The alphabet is printed in Hickes, *Thesaurus* I, 136. Sievers (*Anglia*, XIII, 7) understands *ūr* as a synonym of *feoh*, strengthening his position by the citation of *Chr.* 806 ff.: *ūr wæs longe laguflōdum bilocen, lifwynna dæġ, feoh on foldan*; and *El.* 1266 ff.: *ūr wæs gēara, geoguðhādes glæm: nū synt gēardagas . . . forð gewitene, lifwynne geliden*. His translation is 'das gut.' In both the above passages, however, the word is represented by the rune; no example of *ūr*, 'wealth,' as an Anglo-Saxon word, is known. Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 52) rejects the reading of Cosijn and Gollancz on the ground that the runes never stand for other parts of speech than nouns. He suggests *unne*, 'permission,' 'what is granted,' 'grant,' extending (without sufficient authority) the meaning of the word to

'possessions,' 'property,' 'die habe'; Sievers's reading he rejects on the ground that the existence of *ūr* = 'wealth' as an Anglo-Saxon word cannot be proved. To Trautmann's substitution *unne* as an appositive to *wyn* and *feoh* we may make the same objection that he makes to Sievers's *ūr*, — the word does not occur; to his statement that the runes never stand for any words except nouns the gloss cited by Gollancz is a sufficient answer. The interpretation of Cosijn and Gollancz is altogether the most reasonable. — 101<sup>b</sup>. *tōhrēosan*. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 7) notes that the rime with *gedrēosan* confirms the restoration *tōhrēosan*, rather than Napier's *tōhrēosab*, observing also that the infinitive here gives a smoother sentence-structure.

102<sup>b</sup>. . The equivalent of this rune is L. All commentators agree in the substitution of *lagu* = 'water, wave, sea,' as its name. The half-line occurs again, also with the rune, in *El.* 1268<sup>b</sup>.

103. The first half-line is almost illegible in the MS. Napier (p. 71) says: 'Das *swa* selbst ist sehr undeutlich und ich bin keineswegs sicher, richtig gelesen zu haben. Darauf folgt ein punct und hinter diesem glaube ich das runenzeichen  erkennen zu können. Dahinter sind undeutliche spuren eines zweiten runenzeichens sichtbar, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass  hier gestanden habe: es sind dies ein 7½ mm. langer senkrechter strich, ein 3 mm. langer querstrich, der mit dem oberen ende des ersten einen winkel von ca. 57° bildet, und ausserdem vier kleine puncte. Zwischen den beiden runenzeichen ist raum für einen buchstaben (etwa *γ*), es braucht aber keiner da gestanden zu haben.' Sievers (p. 9) doubts the reading *swā*; if it is to be accepted he thinks the abbreviation for *ond* must have stood before it. Better than *swā*, however, as he points out, is the reading *poñ* = *ponne*, as in *Chr.* 797 and *Jul.* 705. Gollancz, p. 176, and Trautmann, p. 50, follow Sievers's second reading.

All agree in the insertion of the two runes in the first half-line; the alliteration demands the rune  = C; the equivalent letter of the second rune is Y. As to the interpretation of the two runes there is wide divergence of opinion. It is evident that l. 103<sup>a</sup> must have contained the subject of the verb *nēosað*, and it is probable that the runes in this half-line stand for nouns which could fulfill that function. These nouns would naturally be parallel to *eorlas*, 99, and *woruld-wunlgende*, 100. The most plausible interpretation is that the runes stand for *cēne*, 'bold,' and *yfel*, 'wretched,' adjectives used as nouns.

Napier does not attempt the restoration of this and the following line. Sievers (p. 10) says: 'Mit C und Y weiss sich nichts anzufangen: sie werden bloss die geltung von buchstabennamen haben, welche hier die zu fordernden subjecte ("sie" = "die menschen") andeuten.' According to Gollancz (p. 178), 'the words represented by the C-Rune and the Y-Rune, which are co-ordinated, must evidently be the same part of speech; if C = *cēne*, "the bold warrior," in the same sense as in the other passages [i.e. the other runic signatures of Cynewulf], one would expect Y to stand for an adjective or substantive, in any case of masculine gender; but in passage A [*Chr.* 796–806] the Y-Rune is co-ordinated with the N-Rune; concerning the meaning of this latter rune there is no doubt; it represents the abstract noun *nȳd*, "necessity"; therefore the Y-Rune in this latter passage must, I think, stand for some similar abstract noun. Judging by A [i.e. Christ] and C [C = the present passage], the Y-Rune represents a y-word that can discharge

the two-fold functions of a masculine adjective (or noun) and of an abstract noun. The only Anglo-Saxon word that satisfies these requirements is **yfel** = (1) "wretched"; (2) "affliction"; and there is, I venture to think, strong reason for favoring this interpretation of the Y-Rune in the three passages. In passage A, *yfel and nȳd* = "affliction and distress"; in passage B [*El.* 1257-1271], *yfel gnornode nȳdgefera* = "afflicted, mourned the companion of sorrow"; in passage C, *cēne and yfel* = "the bold warrior and the afflicted wretch." Trautmann (p. 53) differs from both Sievers and Gollancz: 'Da ihnen [i.e. the two runes] das selbe praedicat gemein ist, werden sie doch wohl ähnlichen sinn haben; und da von ihnen ausgesagt wird *cræftes nēotað nihtes nearwe*, "sie verzehren die kraft in der bangigkeit der nacht," so müssen sie doch wohl so etwas wie "angst, sorge, gram, leidenschaft, not," bedeuten. Da ergeben sich denn sofort *cearu*, "sorge, kummer," und *ȳst*, "leidenschaft," als die mit C und Y gemeinten worte.' To this it may be answered that the words represented by the runes need not be synonyms, but may be, as Gollancz suggests, antithetic; and second, that Trautmann's interpretation depends upon an impossible meaning for *nēotað*, see 103<sup>b</sup>, note. Unless one prefers, with Sievers, to regard the runes as standing for letters only, and not words, the explanation of Gollancz is to be accepted. The chief difficulty in the way is the meaning assigned to **yfel**. The meaning 'bold (warrior)' for *cēne* is a probable one and finds numerous parallels; see Glossary. But **yfel**, usually 'wicked,' but also 'miserable,' is not used, like *cēne*, as an adjective noun; neither is the antithesis between 'bold' and 'wretched' quite a perfect one. Nevertheless it must be remembered that this runic passage is somewhat of the nature of a riddle, that the language of riddles is not always unconstrained and natural, and that the number of *y*-words which the poet had to choose from was a very limited one. — *nēosað*. The MS. reads plainly *neotað*. Trautmann (p. 53) retains the MS. reading, extending the meaning of *nēotan* = 'use,' 'enjoy,' to the meaning 'consume,' 'devour,' 'verzehren.' For this, however, there is no authority. Sievers (pp. 8-9), Gollancz (p. 176), and Skeat (see translation above) change to *nēosað*, 'inquire for,' 'search out,' 'seek.' Sievers cites the parallel in *An.* 484; his translation of the passage is as follows: 'Wenn so alles dahingeht, dann suchen C und Y nach *cræft* (einen rettenden ausweg, oder schützende stärke?) in angstvoller bedrängniss: (aber vergebens), denn über ihnen steht ihres herren ehernes verhängniss.'

**104. nihtes nearowe.** Plainly an adverbial phrase limiting the idea contained in *nēosað*. The phrase occurs twice elsewhere in similar construction: *El.* 1238-1239: *gebanc reodode nihtes nearwe*, in the personal epilogue of that poem; and *Gu.* 1181-1183: *gēomor sefa gehba gemanode . . . nihtes nearwe*. — All agree in the insertion of the rune **†** = N, which is demanded by the alliteration. Its equivalent word is *nīed*, *nȳd*, 'fate,' 'necessity,' an appositive to *pēodōm*, 105. This is the interpretation of Sievers (p. 7), Gollancz, and Skeat. Trautmann (p. 54) understands *nȳd* in the sense of 'distress' and *pēodōm* in the sense of 'service,' the former being nominative case and the latter accusative; instead of *ligeð* he also reads *legeð*. He translates 'auf sie [die menschen] legt die not den dienst des herren, d.i. die not führt die menschen zu gott.' The other reading, however, preserves the sequence of thought much better. All agree in the restoration **cyninges**.

Napier (p. 72) suggests the possibility that two runes are to be supplied in l. 104<sup>b</sup>, † = N and M = E. There appears, however, to be hardly sufficient space in the obliterated part of the MS. for this second rune, M. In the runic signature to the *Chr.*, also, Cynewulf spells his name without the *e*. Sievers (p. 11) points out that the fuller form *Cyne-* is relatively the earlier of the two, and that syncopation of *e* takes place in proper names before *l*, *r*, *w*, and *h*, although examples of the full form *Cyne-* are found throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period. 'Auf alle Fälle ist die Namensform **Cynwulf** als gut Ags. für das 8. Jahrhundert bezeugt, und man braucht also auch von dieser Seite her an dem Schwanken Cynewulf's in der Wiedergabe seines Namens keinen Anstoss zu nehmen. Leider lässt sich weder die Entstehungszeit noch das Verbreitungsgebiet der Form *Cyn-* genauer bestimmen. Belegt ist sie für Northumbrien, Mercia, und Kent; dem rein-Sächsischen scheint sie dagegen bis auf das stereotype *Cynric* fremd zu sein.'

106<sup>b</sup>. **oncyðig**. 'Revealed, made known.' A word *uncyðig* occurs *El.* 960, in the sense 'ignorant, unknowing' (although Cosijn *Verslag.*, p. 59, would give it the opposite meaning), and in *Gu.* 1199, where it means 'lacking, wanting,' in the phrase *elnes uncyðig*. In *El.* 724 the form *oncyðig* occurs in the same phrase as *Gu.* 1199. **Oncyðig** in the sense 'revealed, manifest,' does not occur elsewhere; but cf. *Vesp. Psalter* XXIV, 7, *unondcyðignis*, translating *ignorantia*. Napier translates 'jetzt kannst du wissen, wer durch diese (die vorhergehenden) worte den menschen bekannt gemacht werden sollte.' So also Sievers, Skeat, and Gollancz.

107-122. Cf. ll. 88-95, and, for the similarity of these endings to the concluding paragraphs of sermons, see *An.* 1686, note.

107<sup>b</sup>. For the restoration, cf. 88<sup>b</sup>.

110. **ān elles forð**. The idea of loneliness at the last day is dwelt on also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 122-146. **Elles forð**, parallel to *elles hwær*, *hwergen*, *hwider*, does not occur elsewhere.

111. **sīð āsettan**. See *An.* 1704, and *Spr.* I, 41, for other examples of this phrase.

115. **utu**. For the contracted form, see *Gram.*, § 360, 2. Napier restores **Ah before utu**.

116. **on þā beorhtan gesceaft**. 'Into heaven.' So *El.* 1088; cf., with the same meaning, *El.* 1031: *þurh þā hālgan gesceaft*; *Jul.* 728: *þurh þā scīran gesceaft*. Cf. also l. 122<sup>b</sup>.

118. **hihta mæst**. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 139, l. 25: and *ðonne mōt habban heofonan rīce, þæt is hihta mæst*; *El.* 196-197: *wæs him frōfra mæst ond hyht[a] nīht* (perhaps to be read *hȳhst*); *Gu.* 34: *hyhta hȳhst*; *Hy.* VI, 252 (*Bibl.* II, 269): *heofonan rīce, þæt is hihta mæst*.

121. **seomap**. The word as a verb, 'await,' 'endure,' parallel to *standeð*. l. 120, gives a satisfactory meaning here; cf. *An.* 183; *Jul.* 709: *seomað sorgcearig*; *El.* 694: *siomode in sorgum*. Sievers (p. 23) changes to *somað*, 'together,' 'together with,' remarking, 'die form *somað* statt des sonst üblichen *somad*, *samod*, ist northumbrisch: *somað*, *Rushw. Marc* XV, 41. Das verbum *somað* gibt keinen befriedigenden sinn.' Skeat in his translation follows Sievers.

122<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Ph.* 607-608: *þær sē longa gefēa, ēce and edgeong, æfre ne sweðrað*.



# GLOSSARY

TO

## ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

The vowel *æ* is treated as equivalent in rank to *a*; initial *ð* follows *t*; the order otherwise is alphabetic. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of the ablaut verbs according to Sievers' classification; W<sub>1</sub>, etc., the classes of the weak verbs; R the reduplicating, PP the preteritive-present verbs. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted, ind. pres. is to be supplied; when of mood only, supply ind. if no other has immediately preceded, otherwise the latter. When a reference or group of references is given without grammatical indication, the description of the preceding form is to be understood. Optatives are so classified only when the forms are distinctive for that mood. The citations are intended to be complete, except for the commonest forms of the pronouns and for the conjunctions and adverbs *ond*, *ne*, *nē*, and *ðā*. References are to *Andreas* unless AP. is prefixed.

### A

**ā**, adv. 1. *ever, always*: 64, 541, 959, 1193, 1267, 1379, 1384, AP. 120. — 2. *ever, at any time*: 203, 569. — 3. *ne . . . ā, by no means, not*: 1467.  
**æ**, f., *law*: ns. 1644; as. 1403, 1511, AP. 10; ā 1194.  
**ābēodan**, 2, *announce, declare, command*: pret. 3 sg. ābēad 96; pp. āboden 231.  
**āberan**, 4, *endure*: imp. 2 sg. āber 956.  
**āblendan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *blind*: pp. āblended 78.  
**Ābrahām**, pr. n., *Abraham*: as. Hābrahām 793; ds. Ābrahāme 753, Hābrahāme 756, 779.  
**ābrecan**, 5, *break, crush*: inf. 150; pp. ābrocen 1240.  
**ābregdan**, 3, *remove, carry away*: pret. 3 pl. ābrugdon 865.  
**ābrēotan**, 2, *destroy*: pret. 3 pl. ābrēoton 51.  
**ac**, conj., *but*: 38, 634, 637, 736, 1476, AP. 19, 34, ah 23, 232, 281, 569, 1083, 1209, 1670, 1703, AP. 115, ach 1592.  
**ācennan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *bear, bring forth*: pp. ācenned 566, 685.

**ach**, *see ac*.

**Achala**, pr. n., *Achaia*: ds. Achaia 169, 927, Achagia AP. 16; as. Achaie 1700.

**āclæccræft**, m., *magic power*: dp. āclæccræftum 1362.

**āclian**, *see geāclian*.

**ācol**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1266; npm. ācle 1339.

**ācolmōd**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1595; npm. ācolmōde 377.

**ācsigan**, W<sub>2</sub>, *demand*: inf. 1134. *See geāscian*.

**ædre**, adv., *immediately, forthwith*: 110, 189, 803, 936; ēdre 401, 643, 950.

**ādrēogan**, 2. 1. *practice, show forth*: pret. 3 sg. ādrēg 164. — 2. *endure, suffer*: pret. 1 sg. ādrēah 969; pret. 3 sg. 1486, ādrēag 1482; inf. 369; ger. ādrēoganne 73.

**ādrēopan**, 2, *flow, drip*: pp. ādropen 1425.

**āfæran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *affright, terrify*; pp. npm. āfærde 1340.

**āfēdan**, W<sub>1</sub>. 1. *feed*: pret. 3 sg. āfēdde 589. — 2. *rear, bring up*: pp. āfēded 684.

**æfen**, n., *evening*: ns. 1245.



- āferian**, W1, *lead out*: pret. 3 sg. āferede 1177.
- æfest**, fn., *hate, dissension*: dp. æfestum AP. 73, æfstum 610.
- æfre**, adv., *ever, at any time*: 360, 493, 499, 553, 1012, 1057.
- āfrēfran**, W1, *comfort, console*: pp. āfrēfred 638.
- æfter**, prep. w. dat. 1. *after*: 37, 78, 88, 133, 156, 229, 468, 593, 600, 620, 761, 1026, 1219, 1483, 1527, 1568, 1585, 1621, 1712, AP. 22, 82. — 2. *through, throughout, over*: 335, 581, 1232, 1237, 1426. — 3. *according to*: 1447, 1695.
- æfter**, adv. 1. *afterward, then*: 124, 182, 738, 904, 1228, AP. 101. — 2. *after, from behind*: 1712.
- āfyrhtan**, W1, *frighten*: pp. āfyrhted 1529.
- āgan**, PP., *own, possess*: 3 sg. āh 518.
- āgān**, anv., *pass*: pp. āgān 147.
- āgen**, adj., *own*: asm. āgenne 339.
- āgend**, m., *Lord*: ns. 210; as. 760, 1715. See *dōmāgende*.
- āgēotan**, 2. 1. *shed, pour out*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1449. — 2. *besprinkle*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1441.
- āgētan**, W1, *injure, destroy*: pret. 3 pl. āgētton 32; inf. 1143.
- āgflota**, m., *ship*: is. āgflotan 258.
- āghwā**, pron., *every one*: dsm. āghhwām 320.
- āghwæðer**, pron., *each*: nsm. 1015, āgðer 1051.
- āghwylc**, pron., *every one*: gsm. āghhwylces 508; dsm. āghhwylcum 350; asm. āghhwylcne 26.
- āgifan**, 5. 1. *give, entrust*: pret. 3 sg. āgef 189, 285, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375; pret. 3 pl. āgēfan 401; pp. āgifen 296; inf. 1416. — 2. *depart from*: pret. 3 sg. āgeaf 1578.
- āglāca**, m. 1. *warrior, foe*: ns. 1312; np. āglācan 1131. — 2. *magician*: ds. āglācan 1359. See *āclāccræft*.
- āglēaw**, adj., *learned in the law*: comp. nsm. āglāwra 1483; apm. āglāawe AP. 24.
- āgrafan**, 6, *engrave, carve*: pp. apn. āgræfene 712.
- āgðer**, see *āghwæðer*.
- ah**, see *ac*.
- āhebban**, 6, *raise*: pret. 3 sg. āhōf 344, 416, 521, 561, 674, 1322, 1497.
- āhlēapan**, R, *leap, run*: pret. 3 sg. āhlēop 736; pret. 3 pl. āhlēopon 1202.
- āhliehhan**, 6, *laugh, rejoice*: pret. 3 sg. āhlōh 454.
- āhōn**, R, *crucify*: pp. āhangen AP. 41.
- æht**, f., *council*: as. 410, 608.
- æht**, f., *possession, power of possession*: ns. 1718.
- æhtgeweald**, n., *power, possession*: as. 1110.
- æhtwela**, m., *riches*: ap. æhtwelan AP. 84.
- āhweorfan**, 3, *turn*: inf. 957.
- āhwettan**, W1. 1. *excite*: inf. 303. — 2. *satisfy, supply?* 1 sg. āhwette 339.
- ālāetan**, R, *give up*: pret. 3 pl. ālēton 1629.
- Albānum**, pr. n., *Albania*: ds. Albāno AP. 45.
- ælc**, pron., *every, each*: dsm. ælcum 1534, AP. 113.
- aldor**, m., *leader, prince*: ns. 708, 913; as. 55, 354, 806; vs. 70.
- aldor**, see *ealdor*.
- æled**, m., *fire*: ns. 1550.
- ælfæle**, adj., *baleful*: nsn. 770.
- ālicgan**, 5, *fail*: pret. 3 sg. ālæg 3.
- æelmihtig**, adj., *almighty, the Lord*: nsm. 249, 365, 445, 1376, 1504, æelmihti 260, æelmihtiga 1190; vsm. æelmihtig 76, 902, 1287.
- Ælmyrcan**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: gp. Ælmyrcna 432.
- ælwihhte**, see *eallwihhte*.
- ālȳsan**, W1. 1. *redeem, release*: 1 sg. ālȳse 100; 3 sg. ālȳseð 112; opt.

- pres. 3 sg. *ālȳse* 1373; opt. pres. 1 pl. *ālȳsan* 1564; pp. *ālȳsed* 1149; inf. 944. — 2. *tear off*: pp. *ālȳsed* 1472.
- āmearcian**, W2. 1. *set boundaries to*: pret. 3 sg. *āmearcode* 750. — 2. *delineate*: pp. *āmearcod* 724.
- ān**, num. 1. *one, certain one*: nsm. 326, 703, 1555, 1717, AP. 79; gsm. *ānes* 327, 483, 1040; gsf. *ānre* 475; asm. *āne* 1495, 1647, *āenne* 1104; asf. *āne* 1091; gp. *ānra* 933, 1283. — 2. *alone*: nsm. *ān* AP. 110; *āna* 68, 636, 1007, AP. 93; gsm. *ānes* 525; dsm. *ānum* 81, 1320; asf. *āne* 1591. — 3. *unique, admirable*: ism. *āne* 258. See *āne*, *ānforlāetan*.
- and**, see *ond*.
- andgit**, n., *meaning, purport*: as. 509.
- Andrēas**, pr. n., *Andrew*: nom. *Andrēas* 169, 189, 270, 285, 299, 315, 352, 383, 572, 617, 628, 643, 818, 1020, 1058, 1184, 1199, 1375, AP. 16; voc. 203, 859, 914, 950, 1208, 1316, 1362; acc. 110, 379, 1175; gen. 1692; dat. *Andrēa* 1135, 1569.
- andswaru**, **andswarian**, **andswerian**, see *ondswaru* etc.
- andweard**, adj., *present*: asm. *andweardne* 1224; apm. *andweard* 783.
- āne**, adv., *once*: 492.
- ānforlāetan**, R, *forsake, abandon*: pret. 2 sg. *ān ne forlāete* 1454; inf. 1287, 1642, 1669.
- ānhaga**, m., *recluse*: ds. *ānhagan* 1351.
- ānig**, adj. pron., *any*: nsm. 15, 377; nsn. 1439; gsm. *āniges* 199, AP. 19; dsm. *āngum* 178; asm. *ānigne* 493, 517, 1081; asf. *ānige* 1521; dpm. *ānigum* 888.
- āninga**, adv., *suddenly, straightway*: 220, 1141, 1370, *āninga* 1392.
- anlicnes**, f., *image, statue*: ns. 717, *onlicnes* 731; ap. *anlicnesse* 713.
- anmōd**, see *onmōd*.
- ānmōd**, adj., *unanimous*: np. *ānmōde* 1565, 1601.
- anrād**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 232, 983.
- apostolhād**, m., *apostleship*: ns. AP. 14; as. 1651. [Lat. *apostolus*.]
- ār**, m., *messenger, attendant*: ns. 1647; as. 1604, 1679; np. *āras* 298; ap. 400, 829?.
- ār**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 979; ds. *āre* 76; as. *āre* 1129.
- ær**, adv., *before*: 188, 695, 949, 1070, 1266, 1274, 1341, 1449, 1476, 1615, 1624, 1628; sup. *ærest*, *first, at first*: 12, 132, 756, 1020, 1100. See *ær þan*.
- ær**, conj., *before*: 1050, 1354, 1439.
- āræfnan**, W1, *endure*: inf. 816.
- āræran**, W1, *set up, establish*: pret. 2 sg. *ārærddest* 1318; pp. *āræred* 967, 1645.
- ærdæg**, m., *early part of the day*: ds. *ærdæge* 220, 235, 1388, 1525.
- äreccan**, W1, *recount*: inf. 546.
- æren**, adj., *of brass*: asm. *ærenne* 1062.
- ærende**, n., *errand, message*: ns. 230, 1620; gs. *ærendes* 215; ap. *ærendu* 776.
- ærest**, f., *resurrection*: as. 780.
- ærest**, see *ær*.
- argeblond**, n., *sea*: as. 383.
- ærgeweorc**, n., *ancient work*: np. 1235.
- ārīsan**, 1. 1. *arise*, pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 450, 695, 1011, 1236, 1303, 1469; imp. 2 sg. *ārīs* 936. — 2. *rise (from the dead)*: pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 1634, AP. 56; inf. 1623. [Cf. *ærest*.]
- ārlēas**, adj., *impious*: npm. *ārlēasan* 559.
- ær þan**, conj., *before*: 1031.
- ārwela**, m., *sea*: as. *ārwelan* 853.
- āryð**, f., *wave*: gp. *āryða* 532.
- æsc**, m., *spear*: ip. *æscum* 1097.
- æschberend**, m., *spear-bearer, warrior*: np. 47, 1076, 1537.
- āscian**, see *geāscian*.
- āsettan**, W1. 1. *place, transfer*: pp. *āseted* 208. — 2. *with sīð, to make a journey*: pret. 3 sg. *āsette* 1704; inf. 1111.

**āspēdan**, W1, w. dat., *survive, escape from*: pp. nrm. āspēdde 1631.

**Assēas**, pr. n., *Asiatics*: dp. Assēum AP. 38.

**āstandan**, 6. 1. *arise*: pret. 3 sg. āstōd 443. — 2. *rise from the dead*: pret. 3 pl. āstōdon 1625; inf. 792.

**āstīgan**, 1, *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. āstāg 708, āstāh 1125.

**Astrias**, pr. n., *Astrages*: ns. AP. 45.

**āsundrian**, W2, *separate*: pp. āsundrad 1243.

**āswebban**, W1, *kill*: opt. 3 pl. āswebban 72; inf. AP. 69.

**æt**, prep. w. dat. 1. *at, in (time, place and circumstance)*: 221, 403, 412, 414, 553, 797, 1325, 1330, 1353, 1356, 1436, 1658, 1709, 1710, AP. 59. — 2. *of, from (with verbs of receiving)*: 908, 1130.

**æt**, m., *food*: ds. æte 132; as. æt 1073.

**æta**, *see sylfæta*.

**ætfæstan**, W1, *inflict*: inf. 1347.

**ætgedere**, adv., *together*: 992.

**atol**, adj., *dire, hateful*: nsm. 1312, atola 1296; asm. atulne 53.

**ātor**, n., *poison*: ns. āttor 770; gs. ātres 53; is. āttre 1331.

**ætsomne**, adv., *together*: 994, 1091, AP. 99.

**ætðringan**, 3, *expel, destroy*: pres. opt. 3 pl. ætþringan 1371.

**ætýwan**, W1, *appear*: pret. 3 sg. ætýwde 1168, 1296, 1662; inf. 729.

**æðelcýning**, m., *noble king, Christ*: gs. æþelcýninges 1679.

**æðele**, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsm. 360, 1722; nsn. 1242, 1644; gsm. æðeles 756; dsm. æðelum 230, 360; asf. æðelan 642, 1476; asm. æðelne 871, 1020; nrm. æðele AP. 79.

**æðelīc**, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsn. 888.

**æðeling**, m., *hero, prince, Lord*: n.s. 853, 911, 990, 1575; gs. æðelīnges 44, 649; ds. æðelīnge 568; as. æðeling 680, 793, 1272, 1459; np. æðelīngas 805,

857, AP. 3, 85; gp. æðelīnga 623, 655, 1174, 1223, 1713.

**æðelu**, npl. 1. *family, race*: n. 6; æðelo 734; d. æðelum 689; a. æðe AP. 24. — 2. *excellences, virtues*: i æðelum 636, 882.

**āwa**, adv., *forever*: AP. 99. Cf. ā.

**āwægan**, W1, *annul*: pp. āwæged 143

**āweallan**, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. āwē 1523.

**āweccan**, W1, *awake, bring to life*: pret. 3 sg. āwehte 584, AP. 55.

**āwecgan**, W1, *move*: inf. 503.

**āwellan**, W1, *well up, be stirred*: āwelled 1019.

**āwergan**, W1, *curse*: pp. āwerged 1

**āwritan**, 1. 1. *write*: pp. āwriten 149. — 2. *carve*: pp. āwriten 726.

## B

**bāel**, n., *fire*: gs. bāeles 1186.

**bald**, *see cirebald, beald*.

**bældan**, W1, *encourage, incite*: 2 bældest 1186.

**baldor**, m., *prince*: vs. 547.

**bām**, *see bēgen*.

**bān**, n., *bone*: ns. 1422, 1473.

**bana**, m., *murderer*: gs. banan 617; 1702; as. 1293; gp. bonena 17.

**bāncofa**, m., *body*: as. bāncofan 12

**bāngēbrec**, n., *breaking of a bone*: 1442.

**bānhring**, m., *vertebra*: ap. bānhrin 150.

**bānhūs**, n., *body*: ns. 1240, 1405.

**bannan**, R, *summon*: inf. 1094.

**Bartholamēus**, pr. n., *Bartholom* ns. AP. 44.

**bāsnian**, W2. 1. *await*: pret. 3 bāsnode 1065. — 2. *remain, abide*: pret. 3 sg. 447.

**bāt**, m., *boat*: ns. 496; gs. bātes 4. *See mere-, sē-, wudubāt*.

**bæð**, n., *bath*: as. 293, 1640.

**bæðweg**, m., *sea*: as. 223, 513.

- be**, prep. w. dat. 1. *beside, by*: 360, 465, 831, 1061, 1063, 1492. — 2. *according to*: 1366, 1611. — 3. *concerning*: AP. 23.
- bēacen**, n., *sign, token*: ns. 1201; as. 729; gp. *bēacna* 242.
- beadu**, f., *battle*: ds. *beaduwe* 982, *beadowe* 1186.
- beaducraeft**, m., *skill in battle*: as. 219.
- beaducraeftig**, adj., *skilful or strong in battle*: nsm. AP. 44.
- beaducwealm**, m., *death in battle*: as. 1702.
- beadulāc**, n., *battle*: ds. *beadulāce* 1118.
- beadurōf**, adj., *bold in battle*: asm. *beadurōfne* 145; dsm. *beadurōfum* 96; npm. *beadurōfe* AP. 78; apm. *beadurōfe* 848.
- beaduwang**, m., *battle-field*: ds. *beaduwange* 413.
- bēag**, m., *ring*: gp. *bēaga* 271, 303, 476.
- bēagsel**, n., *hall in which rings are distributed*: ap. *bēagselu* 1657.
- beald**, adj., *bold*: nsm. 602. *See cirebald.*
- bealu**, n., *evil*: ds. *bealuwe* 947. *See ðeodbealo.*
- bearn**, n., *child, son*: ns. 576; ds. *beame* 560; as. *bearn* 747, 1028, 1613; np. 409; dp. *bearnum* 1328. *See cyne-, frum-, god-, ðryðbearn.*
- bearu**, m., *grove*: ap. *bearwas* 1448.
- bēatan**, R. 1. *beat upon*: 3 sg. *bēateð* 496; pret. 3 pl. *bēoton* 442. — 2. *clash*: pret. 3 pl. *bēoton* 239; ptc. nsn. *bēatende* 1543.
- bebēodan**, 2, *command*: 1 sg. *bebēode* 729, 1328; pret. 3 sg. *bebēad* 322, 773, 789, 845, 1045, 1652, 1696.
- bebod**, n., *command*: as. 735.
- bebūgan**, 2, *reach, extend*: 3 sg. *bebūgeð* 333.
- becuman**, 4, *come, reach*: pret. 3 sg. *becōm* 788, 1666, *becwōm* 827; 3 pl. *becōmon* 666; inf. 929.
- becweðan**, 5, *say*: 2 sg. *becwist* 193, 304, 418; 3 sg. *becwið* 210.
- bed**, *see gebed.*
- bedāelan**, W1, w. dat., *deprive of, bereave*: pp. *bedāeled* 309.
- bedd**, *see hildbedd.*
- bedrīfan**, 1, *beat upon*: pp. apm. *bedrifene* 1494.
- befēolan**, 3, *consign, commit*: pret. 3 sg. *befealg* 1326.
- befōn**, R, *confine, encompass*: pret. 3 sg. *befēhð* 327; pp. *befangen* 1057.
- beforan**, prep. w. dat., *in the presence of*: 571, 619.
- beforan**, adv., *openly*: 606.
- bēgan**, *see forbēgan.*
- begang**, m. 1. *extent, circuit*: ns. 530; as. 195. — 2. *study, practice*: as. AP. 89, 108.
- bēgen**, adj., *both*: npm. *bēgen* 1016, 1027; dpm. *bām* 1014, AP. 78.
- begitan**, 5. 1. *reach*: pret. opt. 3 sg. *begēte* 378. — 2. *secure, obtain*: inf. 480.
- behabban**, W3, *comprehend*: inf. 817.
- behelan**, 4, *cover, bury*: pp. *beheled* 791.
- behweorfan**, 3, *exchange for*: pp. *behworfen* 1703.
- belegcan**, W1, *place upon, cover*: 3 pl. *beleggað* 1211; pret. 3 sg. *belegde* 1192; pret. 3 pl. *belegdon* 1560; inf. 1295.
- belēosan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. *belorene* 1079.
- beliðan**, 1, only in pp., *lifeless*: pp. apm. *belidenan* 1089.
- belūcan**, 2, *confine*: pp. *belocen* 164.
- bemiðan**, 1, *conceal*: pp. *bemiðen* 856.
- bemurnan**, W1, *grieve, have regard for*: pret. 3 pl. *bemurndan* 154.
- bēn**, f., *prayer*: ds. *bēne* 476; as. or p. 1028, 1613, AP. 116.
- bēna**, m., *suppliant*: np. *bēnan* 348.
- bend**, mfn., *bond*: dp. *bendum* 184, 1357, *bennum* 962, 1038. *See leoðu-, witebend.*

**benēah**, anv., w. gen., *possess*: pret. 3 sg. benohte 1705; pret. 3 pl. benoh-ton 1159.

**benēotan**, 2, *deprive of*: inf. AP. 46.

**benn**, f., *wound*: np. benne 1405. *See* **dolg-**, **sārbenn**.

**benohte**, **benoh-ton**, *see* **benēah**.

**bēodan**, 2. 1. *announce, command*: pret. 3 sg. bēad 346; inf. 779. — 2. *make known*: pp. boden 1201. *See* **ā-**, **be-**, **gebēodan**.

**bēodgast**, m., *guest at meal*: gs. bēod-gastes 1088.

**bēon**, *see* **wesan**.

**beorg**, m., *hill*: ns. 1587; np. beorgas 840; ap. 1306. *See* **sābeorg**.

**beorgan**, 3, *save, protect*: inf. 1538.

**beorht**, adj. 1. *shining, bright, radiant*: nsf. 1247; dsf. beorhtan 1649; asm. beorhtne AP. 33; asf. beorhtan AP. 116; vsm. beorht 903; npm. beorhte 867; apn. beorht 1657; superl. nsm. beorhtost 103; nsf. 242. — 2. *clear, loud*: isf. beorhtan 96. — 3. *glorious, illustrious*: nsm. 84, 145, 447, 656, 937; dsf. beorhtre 647; asm. beorhtne 335, 524.

**beorhte**, adv., *brightly*: 789.

**beorn**, m. 1. *man, hero*: ns. 239, 602, 982, AP. 44; gs. beornes 1247, 1279; ds. beorne 1120; as. beorn AP. 88; vs. 937; np. beornas 399, 447, 660, 1094, 1160, AP. 78; gp. beorna 219, 305, 768, 1543; ap. beornas 848; dp. beornum 588. — 2. *children, sons*: np. beornas 690.

**bēorþegu**, f., *beer-drinking*: ns. 1533.

**beorðor**, *see* **hysebeorðor**.

**berædan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. berædde 1326; inf. 133.

**beran**, 4. 1. *bear, carry*: pret. 3 sg. bær 265; pret. 3 pl. bæron 1221; inf. 216. — 2. *make known*: 3 pl. berað 1295; inf. 1079. *See* **ā-**, **geberan**.

**berēafian**, W2, *bereave*: pp. berēafod 1314.

**berend**, *see* **æsc-**, **reordberend**.

**berēofan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. berēofene 1084.

**bescūfan**, 2, *thrust*: pret. 3 sg. bescūf 1191.

**bescyrīan**, W2, *deprive of*: pp. n. bescyrede 1618.

**besēon**, 5, *look, observe*: pret. 3 sg. be-seah 1446.

**besettan**, W1, *surround, encompass*: 1 sg. besette 1433; pp. beseted 943, 1255.

**besittan**, 5, *sit (in council), hold (council)*: 3 pl. besittap 410; pret. 3 pl. besæton 608, 627.

**besnyððan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. besnyðede 1324.

**bestēman**, W1, *wet*: pp. bestēmed 1239, 1475; pp. wk. dsm. bestēmon 487.

**beswīcan**, 1, *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. beswīc 613; pp. npm. beswicene 745.

**beteldan**, 3, *cover, surround*: pp. betolden 988.

**betera**, adj., *better*: asm. beteran 1088; asf. beteran 588. *See* **gædd**, **sēlra**.

**betwēonum**, prep. w. dat., *among*: 1099, betwīnum 1103, be . . . twēonum 558.

**beðeccan**, W1. 1. *cover*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1046. — 2. *embrace*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1015.

**beðurfan**, 3, w. gen., *have need of*: pret. 1 sg. beþearf AP. 91.

**bewælan**, W1, *afflict*: pp. bewæled 1361.

**bewindan**, 3. 1. *encompass, surround*: pp. bewunden 19, 267, 535, 772. — 2. *implant, fix*: pp. 58.

**bewrecan**, 5, *drive, impel*: pp. n. bewrecene 269.

**bīdan**, 1, w. gen. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. bād 261; pret. 3 pl. bidon 1042; inf. 145. — 2. *remain*: inf. 833. *See* **gebīdan**.

- bidan**, 5, w. acc. and gen., *ask, pray*:  
1 sg. bidde 1415, AP. 88; pret. 3 sg.  
bād 1030, 1614; opt. pres. 3 sg.  
bidde AP. 90; opt. pres. 1 pl. biddan  
1566; inf. 84, 271, 353, 476. *See*  
**gebiddan**.
- bill**, n., *sword*: gs. billes 51; ip. billum  
413.
- billhete**, m., *sword hostility, warfare*;  
ds. billhete 78.
- billwit**, adj., *kind, gracious*: asm. bil-  
wytn 997.
- bindan**, 3, *bind*: 3 sg. bindeð 519;  
pret. 3 sg. band 1255. *See gebindan*.
- biryhte**, prep. w. dat., *beside*: 848.
- bisceop**, m., *bishop*: as. bisceop 1649;  
np. bisceopas 607. [Lat. *episcopus*.]
- bisencan**, W1, *cause to sink*: pret. 3 sg.  
bisencete 1591.
- bite**, m., *bite, wound*: as. bite AP. 34.
- biter**, adj., *bitter*: nsf. 1533; asm.  
biterne 616; asf. bitran 1160.
- bitere**, adv., *bitterly*: 33.
- blæc**, adj., *black*: asf. blæc 1262.
- blāc**, adj., *shining*: ism. blācan 1541.
- blæd**, m. 1. *glory*: ns. 1719; as. 535;  
gp. blæda 103. — 2. *prosperity, hap-  
piness*: gs. blædes 17; as. blæd 356;  
dp. blædum 769. — 3. *flowers, fruit*:  
dp. blædum 1449.
- blædgifa**, m., *dispenser of happiness*,  
*Lord*: ns. 656; vs. 84.
- blandan**, *see onblandan*.
- blæst**, m., *flame, torch*: ns. 837; np.  
blæstas 1552.
- blāt**, gend. not determinable, *sound*,  
*cry*? ns. 1279.
- blāt**, adj., *pale*: gsm. blātes 1088.
- blēað**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 231.
- bledsian**, *see gebledsian*.
- blendan**, *see āblendan*.
- bletsung**, f., *blessing*: as. bletsunge 223.
- blīcan**, 1, *shine, gleam*: pret. 3 sg. blāc  
243; inf. 789, 838.
- blind**, adj., *blind*: npm. blinde 581. *See*  
**hyge-**, **mōdblind**.
- blinnan**, 3, w. gen. 1. *desist from*:  
pret. 3 sg. blon 1265. — 2. *forfeit*:  
pret. 2 sg. blunne 1380. [be + lin-  
nan.]
- bliss**, f., *joy, bliss*: ns. blis 1014; gs.  
blisse 1064; ds. 588; is. 647; gp.  
blissa 886; dp. blissum 1699.
- blissigean**, W2. 1. *make happy*: inf.  
1607. — 2. *rejoice*: 3 sg. blissað, 634;  
pret. 3 sg. blissode 578. *See geblis-  
sian*.
- blīð**, *see higeblīð*.
- blīðe**, adj. 1. *happy*: asm. blīðne 833;  
npm. blīðe 867, 1583. — 2. *gracious*,  
*favorable*: nsm. blīðe 903; asm.  
blīðne 971.
- blīðheort**, adj., *blithe of heart*: nsm.  
1262; npm. blīðheorte 660.
- blōd**, n., *blood*: ns. 954, 1240; as. 23,  
1449.
- blōdfāg**, adj., *blood-stained*: nsn. 1405.
- blōdig**, adj., *bloody*: nsf. 1473; asf.  
blōdige 1442; ipm. blōdigum 159.
- blōdlifer**, f., *clot, blood-clot*: ip. blōd-  
lifrum 1276.
- blondan**, *see geblondan*.
- blōwan**, R, *bloom*: 3 sg. blōweð 646.  
*See geblōwan*.
- bōc**, f., *book*: ap. bēc AP. 63.
- bōcere**, m., *scribe*: np. bōceras 607.
- bod**, *see bebod*.
- bodian**, W2, *announce, proclaim*:  
imp. 2 pl. bodiað 335; pp. bodad  
1120.
- bolca**, m., *gangway*: ds. bolcan 305;  
as. 602.
- bold**, n., *house, habitation*: as. 656; gs.  
botles AP. 117.
- boldwela**, m., *glorious habitation*: ns.  
103; as. holdwelan 524, AP. 33.
- bolgenmōd**, adj., *angry*: npm. bolgen-  
mōde 128, 1221.
- bona**, *see bana*.
- bora**, *see rāsbora*.
- bord**, n., *shield*: ip. bordum 1205. *See*  
**ȳðbord**.

**bordhrēoða**, m., *shield*: ap. bordhrēoðan 128.

**bordstæð**, n., *ship-rope, cordage*: ap. bordstæðu 442.

**bōsm**, m., *bosom*: ds. bōsme 444.

**bōt**, f., *help*: ns. 947.

**botl**, *see bold*.

**-bræce**, *see unbræce*.

**brandhāt**, adj., *very hot, fiery*: nsm. brandhāta 768.

**brant**, adj., *steep*: ism. brante 273.

**-brec**, *see gebrec*.

**breca**n, 4. 1. *break, shatter*: inf. 504.

— 2. *go, make way*: 1 pl. brecað 513; inf. 223. *See ā-*, *gebrecan*.

**bregdan**, *see a-*, *ofer-*, *tōbregdan*.

**brego**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. breogo 305; as. brego 61; vs. brego 540.

**brehtm**, m., *shout, clamor*: is. brehtme 1202, 1271, byrhtme AP. 21; ip. brehtmum 867.

**brēme**, adj., *famous*: nsm. brēme 209; sup. gsm. brēmestan 718.

**brēme**, adv., *famously*: 1719.

**breogo**, *see brego*.

**breogostōl**, m., *city, principality*: ns. 209.

**brēost**, n., *breast, heart*: ns. 647; as. brēost 768, 1247, 1279, 1574; dp. brēostum 51, 1118.

**brēostgehygd**, fn., *thought*: dp. brēostgehygdum 997.

**brēotan**, *see ābrēotan*.

**brim**, n., *sea, deluge*: ns. 442, 1543, 1574; gs. brimes 444, 1710; as. brim 504; ap. brimu 519, breomo 242.

**brimhengest**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ip. brimhengestum 513.

**brimrād**, f., *sea*: ns. 1587; as. brimrāde 1262.

**brimstæð**, n., *shore*: ap. brimstæðo 496.

**brimstrēam**, m., *ocean stream*: ds. brimstrēame 903; np. brimstrēamas 239; ap. 348.

**brimþisa**, m., *boat*: as. brimþisan 1657; ds. 1699.

**bringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 sg. brōhte 259. *See gebringan*.

**brōga**, *see wæterbrōga*.

**brondstæfn**, adj., *steep-prowed*: asm. brondstæfne 504.

**brōðor**, m., *brother*: ns. 940, AP. 33; as. AP. 54. *See ge-*, *sigelbrōðor*.

**brōðorsybb**, f., *relationship between brothers*: ip. brōðorsybbum 690.

**brūcan**, 2, w. gen., *enjoy, partake of*: 3 pl. brūcað 280, AP. 99; opt. pres. 3 sg. brūce AP. 114; inf. 17, 106, 229, 886, 1467, AP. 117; ger. brūconne 23, brūcenne 1160.

**brūn**, adj., *brown, dark*: apf. brūne 519.

**brūnwann**, adj., *dark, dusky*: nsf. brūnwann 1306.

**brycgian**, W2, *form a bridge*: pret. 3 sg. brycgaðe 1261.

**bryne**, m., *flame, fire*: as. bryne 616.

**bryrdan**, *see onbryrdan*.

**brytta**, m., *dispenser*: ns. 822, 1170.

**bryttian**, W2, *give*: pret. 3 sg. bryttode 754.

**būgan**, *see bebūgan*.

**burg**, f., *city*: ds. byrig 40, 287, 97, 1491, 1649; as. burg 111, burh 98, 1120, 1541; dp. burgum 78, 231, 33, 1155, 1235, 1547. *See gold-*, *Rome-*, *weder-*, *wīnburg*.

**burggeat**, n., *city gate*: dp. burggeatum 840.

**burgloca**, m., *city prison*: das. burghlocan 940, 1038, burhlocan 1065.

**burgwaru**, f., *citizen, the body of citizens, i.e. the city*: as. burgwaru 109, np. burgware 1583; dp. burgwarum 184, 209, 718.

**burhsittend**, m., *citizen*: dp. burhsittendum 1201.

**burhstede**, m., *city*: dp. burhstedum 581.

**burhweall**, m., *city wall*: ds. burhwealle 833.

**burhweard**, m., *defender of the city*:  
gs. burhweardes 660.  
**būtan**, prep. w. dat. 1. *except*: 148.  
— 2. *without*: 679.  
**būtan**, conj., *unless*: 188.  
**-byrd**, *see* mundbyrd.  
**byrhtm**, *see* brehtm.  
**byrig**, *see* burg.  
**byrle**, m., *cupbearer*: np. byrlas 1533.  
**byrðen**, *see* sorgbyrðen.  
**bysen**, f., *example*: as. bȳsne 971.  
**bysgian**, W2, *oppress, afflict*: pp. gebysgod 395.  
**bysmrian**, W2, *mock, scorn*: pret. 3 pl. bysmredon 962; opt. pres. 1 pl. bysmrigen 1357; inf. 1293.

## C

**C** = *rune* ᚺ AP. 104; *for meaning, see Notes.*

**cald**, adj., *cold*: asn. 201, 222, 253; apn. 310; ip. cealdum 1260, cealdan 1212.  
*See* winterceald.

**caldheort**, adj., *cold-hearted, cruel*: npm. caldheorte 138.

**camp**, m., *battle*: ds. campe 234, 1325.

**campræden**, f., *battle*: ds. camprædenne 4.

**candell**, *see* dæg-, heofon-, weder-candell.

**carcern**, n., *prison*: gs. carcernes 1075; ds. carcerne 57, 90, 130, 991, 1082, 1250, 1460, 1560; as. carcern 1578. [Lat. *carcer* and A.-S. *ærn*.]

**ceafl**, m., *jaw*: as. 1703; ip. ceaflum 159.

**ceald**, *see* cald.

**cearig**, adj., *troubled*: isf. cearegan 1108.

**cearo**, *see* lifcearo.

**ceaster**, f., *city*: ns. 207; ds. ceastre 281, 719, 828; as. ceastre 41, 929, 939, 1058, 1174, 1677.

**ceasterhof**, n., *house in the city*: dp. ceasterhofum 1237.

**ceasterware**, pm., *citizens*: gp. ceastrewarena 1125; dp. ceasterwarum 1646.

**cempa**, m., *warrior*: ns. 461, 538, 991, 1446; ds. cempan 230; np. cempan 1055; dp. cempum 324.

**cēne**, adj., *bold*: ns. 1578; np. 1204.

**cennan**, W1, *bear, bring forth*: pp. cenned 757. *See* ācennan.

**cēol**, m., *ship*: gs. cēoles 310; ds. cēole 450, 555, 854; as. cēol 222, 349, 361, 380, 899; is. cēole 273; ip. cēolum 253, 256.

**cēosan**, 2, *choose, seek*: opt. pret. 3 pl. curen 1609, curon 404. *See* gecēosan.

**Channanēas**, pr. n., *dwellers in Canaan*: dp. Channanēum 778.

**Cheruphim**, pr. n., *Cherubim*: ns. 719.

**cīgan**, W1, *name, call*: 2 pl. cīgað 746.

**cildgeong**, adj., *young as a child*: nsm. 685.

**cirebald**, adj., *bold in decision*: dsm. cirebaldum 171.

**cirice**, f., *church*: ns. 1646; as. ciricean 1633.

**cirm**, m., *tumult, outcry*: ns. 41, 1237, cyrm 1125, 1156.

**cirman**, W1, *make outcry*: pret. 3 pl. cirmdon 138.

**clāne**, adj., *pure*: asm. clānan 978; dpm. clānum AP. 119.

**cleofa**, *see* clustorcleofa.

**cleopian**, W2, *call*: pret. 2 sg. cleopodest 1410; pret. 3 sg. cleopode 1108; pret. 3 pl. cleopodon 1716; inf. 1398, cleopigan AP. 115, clypian 450.

**clif**, n., *cliff*: ap. cleofu 310.

**clingan**, 3, *shrink, freeze*: pret. 3 sg. clang 1260.

**clomm**, m., *fetter, bond*: is. clamme 1192; ip. clommum 130, 1212, 1378, 1560.

**clūstorcleofa**, m., *prison*: ds. clūstorcleofan 1021. [Lat. *claustrum*.]

**clyppan**, W1, *embrace*: pret. 3 pl. clypton 1016.

**cnāwan**, *see* ge-, oncnāwan.



**-cnāwe**, *see orcnāwe*.

**cnēomæg**, m., *kinsman*: dp. cnēomāgum 685.

**cnēoriss**, f. 1. *family, race*: as. cnēorisse AP. 26. — 2. *country*: as. cnēorisse 207.

**cniht**, m., *boy*: gs. cnihtes 912, 1121.

**cofa**, *see bān-, morðor-, nēadcofa*.

**cōllan**, W2, *become cold*: pret. 3 pl. cōledon 1256.

**collenferhð**, adj., *courageous, bold-spirited*: nsm. 538, 1108, collenferð 1578, AP. 54; npm. collenfyrhðe 349.

**corðor**, n., *crowd, troop*: ns. 138; ds. corðre 1075, 1716; is. 1121, 1204. *See hildecorðor*.

**cost**, adj., *tried, excellent*: npm. coste 1055.

**cræft**, m., *skill, craft, power*: gs. cræftes 484, 585, AP. 103; as. cræft 500, 631, 1294; is. cræfte 49, 327, 939, 1196; gp. cræfta 700, 1460; ip. cræftum 1603. *See āclæc-, beadu-, drȳ-, dwol-, galdor-, hell-, morðor-, rīm-, searo-, wundorcræft*.

**cræftig**, *see beadu-, mācræftig*.

**cræftiga**, m., *builder, architect*: ns. 1633.

**cringan**, 3, *fall*: opt. pret. 3 sg. crunge 1031. *See gecringan*.

**Crīst**, pr. n., *Christ*: ns. 322, 1322; gs. Crīstes 57, 991, 1337; ds. Crīste 1016, 1250, AP. 26; as. Crīst 880. [Lat. *Christus*.]

**Crīsten**, adj. as n., *Christian*: gp. Crīstenra 1677.

**-crod**, *see gecrod*.

**cuman**, 4, *come*: 3 sg. cymeð 512; pret. 3 sg. cōm 88, 124, 241, 837, 1219, 1245, 1269, 1311, 1388, 1462, cwōm 738, 1278; pret. 2 pl. cōmon 256; pret. 3 pl., 658, 863, 1069, 1094; opt. pres. 2 sg. cyme 188, 400; opt. pret. 3 pl. cōmon 247, 1047; pp. cumen 41, 880, 1165, 1584; inf. 783. *See feorrancumen, be-, forcuman*.

**cumbol**, n., *banner*: np. 4; dp. cumblum 1204.

**cunnan**, PP. 1. *know*: 2 sg. canst 68, 508, const 1282; 3 sg. con 195; pret. 3 pl. cūðon 752; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 1485; inf. 341, AP. 105. — 2. *be able*: 3 sg. cann 980, 1154; pret. 1 sg. cūðe 901; pret. 2 sg. 928; pret. 3 pl. cūðon 1194; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 557.

**cunnian**, W2. 1. *examine, find out*: inf. 129. — 2. *experience, endure*: 3 sg. cunnab 314. — 3. *essay, attempt*: pret. 1 pl. cunnedan 439.

**cūð**, adj., *known*: nsn. cūð 380, 527, 682, 1562; npm. cūðe 198; npf. cūðe 201. *See un-, unforcūð*.

**cūðlice**, adv., *kindly, friendly*: 322.

**cwalu**, *see swyltcwalu*.

**cwānian**, W2, *lament*: pret. 3 pl. cwānedon 1536.

**cwealm**, m., *torture, death*: ns. 182; gs. cwealmes 1597; ds. cwealme 1507; as. cwealm 281, 1121, 1186, AP. 39. *See beaducwealm*.

**cwellan**, W1, *kill*: pret. 3 sg. cwealde 1624.

**cweðan**, 5, *say*: pret. 2 sg. cwæde 1411; pret. 3 sg. cwæð 62, 173, 329, 354, 539, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1109, 1206, 1280, 1450; pret. 3 pl. cwædon 1601, 1639, 1716. *See be-, ge-, oncweðan*.

**cwic**, adj., *alive*: asm. cwicne 1082; npm. cwice 129; gpm. cwicera 912.

**cwide**, m., *speech*: ds. cwide 1021. *See gēn-, hearm-, hleoðor-, lār-, sār-, sōð-, tēon-, wordcwide*.

**cylegicel**, m., *icicle*: ip. cylegicelum 1260.

**cyme**, m., *approach, arrival*: is. cyme 660. *See hidercyme*.

**cȳmlīc**, adj., *comely, fair*: comp. asm. cȳmlīcor 361.

**cynebearn**, n., *royal child*: as. 566.

**cynerōf**, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm. 585; vsm. 484.

**cynestōl**, m., *capital city*: ds. cyne-stōle 666.

**cyneðrym**, m., *royal dignity*: as. 1322.

**cyning**, ms., *king*: ns. 120, 145, 324, 450, 700, 1325, 1505, 1509, 1517, 1603, 1722, AP. 27, 69, 119, cining 416, 828, 880, 912, 978, 1192; gs. cyninges 527, 778, 1633, AP. 54, 105; as. cyning 538, 1055, cining 880; vs. cyning 903; gp. cyninga 555, 854, 899, 978, 1192, cininga 171, 1411. *See* æðel-, hēah-, heofon-, ðeod-, ðryð-, wuldorcyning.

**cynn**, n., *race, stock, kind*: ns. 560, 1610; gs. cynnes 545, 582, 590, 1374; ds. cynne 567, 757, 907; as. cynn 1519. *See* engel-, manncynn.

**cyrran**, *see* ge-, oncyrran.

**cyssan**, W1, *kiss*: pret. 3 pl. cyston 1016.

**cyst**, *see* gumcyst.

**cȳðan**, W1, *make known, reveal*: 2 pl. cȳðað 680; pret. 3 sg. cȳðde 571, 575, 585, 606, 625, 704, 812, 1510; pret. 3 pl. cȳðdon AP. 3; imp. 2 sg. cȳð 1212. *See* gecȳðan.

**-cȳðig**, *see* oncȳðig.

**cȳðð**, f., *race, country*: d. or as. cȳððe 734.

## D

**dæd**, f., *deed*: as. dæde 67; dp. dædum AP. 5; ip. 596. *See* oncȳðdæd.

**dædfruma**, m., *performer of deeds, hero*: ns. 75, 1455.

**dafenian**, *see* gedafenian.

**dæg**, m., *day*: ns. 1397; gs. dæges 1407, 1535, AP. 65; ds. dæge 1385, 1436; as. dæg 818, 1245, 1274, 1385; np. dagas 1696; ap. 1414. *See* ær-, ende-, fyrn-, gēar-, gystran-, symbeldæg.

**dægscandell**, f., *day-candle, sun*: as. dægscandelle 835.

**dæghwæmlice**, adv., *daily*: 682.

**dægredwōma**, m., *dawn*: ns. 125.

**-dāl**, *see* gedāl.

**dæl**, m. 1. *part, division*: ns. 1421, 1474; as. dæl 570, 1122, 1488, AP. 94. — 2. *region*: ap. dælas AP. 51.

**dælan**, W1, *part, deal out*: 2 sg. dælest 548; pp. dæled 952. *See* be-, ge-, tōdælan.

**darod**, m., *spear*: gp. daroða 1444.

**Dāuid**, pr. n., *David*: ns. 878.

**dēad**, adj., *dead*: ap. dēade 1077, 1090.

**dēaf**, adj., *deaf*: np. dēafe 577.

**deall**, adj., *proud*: npm. dealle 1097.

**dēað**, m., *death*: as. 87, 431; ds. dēaðe 583, 600, 955, 1217, AP. 56, 82.

**dēaðræs**, m., *sudden death*: ns. 995.

**dēaðrēow**, adj., *deadly cruel, savage*: nsm. 1314.

**dēaðwang**, m., *field of death*: as. 1003.

**dēma**, *see* sigedēma.

**dēman**, W1. 1. *appoint*: inf. 75. — 2. *acknowledge, glorify*: inf. 1194, 1403, AP. 10.

**dēmend**, m., *judge, Lord*: as. 1189; vs. 87.

**dēoful**, n., *devil*: ns. 1168, 1314, dīoful 1298; gs. dēofles 43, 141, 611, 1189.

**dēofolgild**, n., *idolatry*: as. 1688, dīofolgild 1641.

**dēogollice**, adv., *secretly*: 621.

**dēop**, adj., *deep*: asn. 190; asm. dēopne 611; dp. dēopum 1244.

**dēope**, adv., *deeply*: 394, 1529.

**dēor**, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1308. *See* hildedēor.

**deorc**, adj., *dark*: dsf. deorcan 1462.

**dēormōd**, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 626; asm. dēormōdne 1232.

**dīgol**, n., *secret, secret place*: ds. dīgle 626.

**dīgol**, adj., *secret*: asn. dīgol 698.

**dīm**, adj., *dim, dark*: dsf. dimman 1270; asn. dimme 1308.

**dimscua**, m., *darkness*: ds. dimscuan 141.

**dolg**, *see* heoru-, seonodolg.

**dolgbenn**, f., *wound*: ip. dolgbennum 1397.

**dolgslege**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. dolgslege 1475; dp. dolgslegum 1244.

**dōm**, m. 1. *decision, judgment, decree*: ds. dōme 653, 796, 1695; as. dōm 339. — 2. *glory, power*: ns. 541, AP. 65; gs. dōmes 959; as. dōm 1151. *See dryhten-, ðeo-, wīsdōm.*

**dōmāgende**, adj., *exercising judgment*: nsm. 570.

**dōmfæst**, adj., *illustrious*: npm. dōmfæste AP. 5.

**dōmgeorn**, adj., *ambitious, noble*: nsm. 1308; npm. dōmgeorne 693, 878.

**dōmlēas**, adj., *inglorious*: npm. dōmlēase 995.

**dōmlice**, adv., *gloriously*: sup. nsm. dōmlicost 1267.

**dōmweorðung**, f., *glory*: as. dōmweorðunga 355, dōmweorðinga 1006.

**dōn**, anv. 1. *make, perform*: pret. 2 sg. dydest 927; pret. 3 pl. dydan 27. — 2. *do* (pro-verb): pret. 3 sg. dyde 1321. *See fordēn, gedōn.*

**dragan**, 6, *drag*: pret. 3 pl. drōgon 1232.

**drēam**, m., *joy*: ns. 874, AP. 48; as. AP. 82; ap. drēamas 641, 809, AP. 32. *See man-, sele-, swegldrēam.*

**dreccan**, *see gedreccan.*

**drēfan**, *see gedrēfan.*

**drēogan**, 2, *endure*: inf. 1244. *See ādrēogan.*

**drēopan**, *see ādrēopan.*

**drēor**, m., *blood*: as. 969; is. drēore 1003, 1475.

**drēorig**, *see heorodrēorig.*

**drēosan**, 2, *fall, die*: pret. 3 pl. druron 995. *See gedrēosan.*

**drīfan**, *see be-, for-, tō-, ðurhdrīfan.*

**drihten**, *see dryhten.*

**drohtað**, m. 1. *condition, lot, life*: ns. 313, 1385; as. 1281, drohtaþ 369. — 2. *place of abode*: as. drohtað 1539.

**drohtigan**, W2, *pass life, live*: opt. pres. 2 pl. drohtigen 682.

**drohtnoð**, m., *condition of life*: as. 1402.

**druncen**, adj., *drunk*: npm. druncne 1003.

**drȳ**, m., *magician*: np. drȳas 34.

**drȳcræft**, m., *magic*: ip. drȳcræftum 765.

**drȳge**, adj., *dry*: nsf. 1581.

**dryht**, *see willgedryht.*

**dryhten**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. 5, 202, 317, 343, 355, 435, 510, 621, 698, 727, 835, 1206, 1462, 1663, 1696, drihten 173, 248; gs. dryhtnes 431, 667, 721, 1034, 1194, 1403, AP. 19, 56; ds. dryhtne 959, 1006, 1151, 1641, AP. 5; as. dryhten 600, 626, 874, 1267, 1455; vs. 190, 541, 897, 1281, 1407, drihten 73; gp. dryhtna 874, 1151. *See sige-, winedryhten.*

**dryhtendōm**, m., *glory, majesty*: as. 999.

**dryhtlic**, adj., *glorious*: nsm. AP. 65.

**drync**, m., *drink*: ns. 22, 1535; as. 34, 53, 313.

**drype**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. 955, 1217.

**dūfan**, *see gedūfan.*

**dugan**, anv. *avail, hold out*: pres. 3 sg. dēah 460.

**duguð**, f. 1. *benefit, sustenance*: ds. dugoðe 313; dp. duguðum 342. — 2. *power, glory*: dp. duguðum 1314. — 3. *host, multitude*, in the singular; *men, warriors*, in plural: ns. duguð 125, 394, 1270, 1529; gs. dugoðe 1227, dugoðe 1105; ds. dugoðe 152, dugoðe 1168; is. dugoðe 1122; np. dugoð 693, 878; gp. dugoða 87, 1189, dugoða 75, 248, 698; dp. duguðum 682.

**dumb**, adj., *dumb*: npn. dumban 67; dpm. dumbum 577.

**dung**, f., *prison*: ds. ding 1270.

**dūnscræf**, n., *mountain cave*: dp. dūnscræfum 1232, 1539.

**durran**, anv., *dare, have courage*: 2 sg. dearst 1350; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 pl. dorston 800.

**duru**, f., *door*: ns. 999; as. 1075. *See hlinduru.*

**duruðegn**, m., *door-keeper*: dp. duruðegnum 1090.

**-dwola**, *see gedwola.*

**dwolcræft**, m., *magic*: as. 34.

**dynnan**, W1, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. dynede 739.

**dyrnan**, W1, *conceal*: inf. 693.

**dyrne**, *see undyrne.*

## E

**ēa**, f., *stream*: as. 1504.

**ēac**, adv., *also*: 584, 1592, AP. 23, 50.

**ēaca**, m., *addition*: ds. ēacan 1039.

**ēadfruma**, n., *author of prosperity*, *Lord*: vs. 1292.

**ēadgifa**, m., *dispenser of good*, *Lord*: ns. 451; vs. 74.

**ēadig**, n., *happiness, prosperity*: gs. ēadiges 680.

**ēadig**, adj., *happy, blessed*: nsm. 54, 463, 879, AP. 73; npm. ēadige 599; apm. 830. *See tīrēadig.*

**eador**, *see geador.*

**ēadwela**, m., *joy, blessedness*: ds. ēadwelan 808.

**eafora**, m., *descendant*: as. eaforan 1110; np. 1627; dp. eaforum 779.

**eafoð**, n., *strength, power, violence*: ns. 30; dp. eaueðum 142.

**ēage**, n., *eye*: gp. ēagena 30; dp. ēagum 910; ip. 759, 1224, 1679.

**ēagorstrēam**, m., *stream*: ns. 258; as. 379; np. ēagorstreamas 441; ap. 492.

**ēagsýne**, adj., *visible*: nsm. 1550.

**eahtigan**, W2, *meditate*: inf. 1162.

**ēalā**, interj., *alas*: 203.

**ēalād**, f., *water-way, ocean*: np. ēalāda 441.

**ēaland**, n., *island*: as. 28.

**eald**, adj., *old*: asm. 1495; npm. ealde 1537; apm. 1642: sup. npm. yldestan 763. *See efeneald.*

**ealdgeniðla**, m., *arch-enemy*: ns. 1341; np. ealdgeniðlan 1048.

**ealdgesīð**, m., *chieftain, leader*: gp. ealdgesīða 1104.

**ealdor**, n., *life*: gs. ealdres 1131; ds. ealdre 1721, aldre 938; is. ealdre 1137, 1324, AP. 36, aldre 1351, AP. 17, 43.

**ealdorgeard**, m., *home of life, body*: as. 1181.

**ealdorman**, m., *elder, magistrate*: np. ealdormenn 608.

**ealdorsacerd**, m., *chief priest*: ns. 670.

**ealgian**, W2, *defend*: pret. 3 pl. ealgodon 10.

**ēaliðend**, m., *voyager*: dp. ēaliðendum 251.

**eall**, adj., *all, the whole of*: gsm. ealles 1150; asm. ealne 1245; asf. ealle 101, AP. 30, 122; asn. eall 1320, 1434, 1519, 1719, eal 945; npm. ealle 762, 1565, 1601; npf. 1499; gp. ealra 68, eallra 326, 703, 978, 1717; dp. eallum 568, 1091, 1292; apm. eallé 332, 676, 895, 994, 1623, AP. 84; apf. 327; apn. eall 1359, 1486.

**eall**, adv., *completely, entirely*: 1097, 1146, 1483, 1590, 1627, eal 19.

**eallgrēne**, adj., *entirely or very green*: asf. 798.

**eallwealda**, adj., *omnipotent, Lord*: nsm. ealwalda 751, 925; dsm. ealwealdan 1620, eallwealdan 205.

**eallwihte**, npl., *all creatures*: gp. eallwihta 1603, ælwihta 118.

**eard**, m., *land, habitation*: ns. AP. 113; gs. eardes 280, 1025, AP. 110; ds. earde 400; as. eard 176, 599.

**eardwīc**, n., *habitation*: as. AP. 93.

**earfeð**, n., *suffering, hardship*: ap. earfeðo 1486.

**earfoðlice**, adv., *hardly, unfortunately*: 514.

**earfoðsið**, m., *toilsome journey, hardship*: gp. earfoðsiða 678; ap. earfeðsiðas 1283.

**earh**, n., *arrow*: as. 1331.

**earhfaru**, f., *flight of arrows*: ds. earhfare 1048.

**earm**, m., *arm*: is. earne 1015.

**earm**, adj., *poor, wretched*: npm. earne 676; gpm. earmra 744.

**earmlīc**, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 182; nsn. 1555; asn. 1135.

**earmsceapen**, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 1129, 1345.

**earn**, m., *eagle*: np. earnas 863.

**ēastrēam**, m., *water-stream*: ap. ēastrēamas 1261.

**ēaðe**, adv., *easily*: 425, 859, 933, 1179, 1352, 1376; comp. ēað 194, 368. *See unēaðe.*

**ēaðmēdum**, adv. 1. *humbly*: 321. — 2. *joyfully*: 979.

**ēaðmōd**, adj., *humble*: nsm. 270.

**eaueð**, *see eafod*.

**Ebrēas**, pr.n., *Hebrews*: dp. Ebrēum 165.

**ēcan**, *see īcan*.

**ēce**, adj., *eternal*: nsm. 202, 249, 326, 343, 365, 510, 703, 1717; nsf. 1722, AP. 122; gsm. ēcan 721; asn. ēce 747, 1064, AP. 19, 38, 73; vsm. 1287, 1292.

**ēcen**, adj., *endowed*: asf. ēcne 636; apm. 882.

**ecg**, f. 1. *edge*: ns. 1132; ds. ecge 51; ip. ecgum 71. — 2. *sword*: gp. ecga 1148.

**ecgheard**, adj., *hard of edge*: asn. 1181.

**edgiong**, adj., *with youth renewed*: nsf. AP. 122.

**edlēan**, n., *reward*: ns. 1228.

**ednīwe**, adj., *renewed*: nsf. 1014.

**ednīwinga**, adv., *straightway*: 783.

**ēdre**, *see ædre*.

**edwitspræc**, f., *scornful speech*: as. edwitspræce 81.

**efeneald**, adj., *of equal age*: ds. efenealdum 553.

**Effessia**, pr. n., *Ephesus*: ds. AP. 30.

**efne**, adv., *even, just, indeed*: 294, 1104, 1234, AP. 102, emne 114, 221, 333.

**eft**, adv. 1. *then, again, afterwards*: 277, 655, 706, 763, 1246, 1274, 1302, 1341, 1476. — 2. *back*: 400, 466, 531, 694, 1078, 1356, 1675.

**egesa**, m., *fear*: ns. 445, 532; ds. egesan 457; is. 805, 1266. *See wæteregeša.*

**egeslīc**, adj., *fearful*: nsm. 1550; nsn. 1588.

**Ēgīas**, pr. n., *Egias*: as. AP. 17.

**egle**, adj., *horrible*: npm. 1148, 1459; npf. 441.

**eld**, f., *time, age*: dp. eldum 1057.

**ellefne**, num. adj., *eleven*: npm. 664.

**ellen**, n., *strength, courage*: ns. 460; gs. elnes 1001, 1263; ds. elne 54, 1486; as. ellen 1208, 1242, AP. 3; is. elne 983.

**ellenheard**, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1254.

**ellenrōf**, adj., *brave, bold*: gsm. ellenrōfes 1392; npm. ellenrōfe 350, 410, 1141.

**ellenweorc**, n., *courageous deed*: gs. ellenweorces 232; ip. ellenweorcum 1370.

**elles**, adv., *otherwise, elsewhere*: AP. 110.

**ellorfūs**, adj., *ready or anxious to depart*: asm. ellorfūsne 188, 321.

**ellreordig**, adj., *speaking a strange language*: gp. ellreordigra 1081.

**ellðeod**, f., *foreign nation*: ds. ellþeode 972.

**ellðeodig**, adj., *foreign, hostile*: gsm. ellþeodiges 678; asm. ellþeodigne 1454, 1559; npm. ellþeodige 63, 199, 280; gpm. ellþeodigra 16, 1175, ellðeodigra 26, ellþeodigra 946; dpm. ellþeodigum 163, ellþeodigum 1073.

**emne**, *see efne*.

**ende**, m. 1. *end*: ns. 1382; ds. 221, AP. 98; as. 649, AP. 85; is. 1057. — 2. *Lord, the Omega*: ns. 556.

**endedæg**, m., *day of death*: ns. AP. 79.

**endelēas**, adj., *endless*: nsn. 695.

**endestæf**, m., *end, doom*: as. 135.

**engel**, m., *angel*: ns. 194, 1540; as. 365; np. englas 871; gp. engla 74, 83, 119, 146, 278, 290, 434, 451, 525, 642, 713, 828, 900, 1007, 1064, 1412, 1517, AP. 28, 119; dp. englum 249, 599, 1722; ap. englas 823. [Lat. *angelus*.] See **ūp-**, **hēahengel**.

**engelcyn**, n., *race of angels*: gp. engelcynna 717.

**ent**, m., *giant*: gp. enta 1235, 1495.

**ēode**, **ēodon**, see **gan**.

**eogoð**, see **geogoð**.

**eolhstede**, m., *temple, altar*: ap. eolhstedas 1642.

**eorl**, m., *chief, hero*: ns. 1254, 1263; gs. eorles 508; as. eorl 460; vs. 475; np. eorlas 199, 251, 401, 734, 1638, AP. 99; gp. eorla 1051, 1105, 1352; dp. eorlum 1575, 1644; ap. eorlas 463.

**eorre**, see **yrre**.

**eorðe**, f., *earth*: ns. 1438; gs. eorðan 332, 1501, 1540, AP. 94, eorþan 1595; ds. eorðan 460, 604, AP. 19, 99; as. 7, 87, 328, 731, 748, 798, 970, 1255, 1525, AP. 28.

**eorðscræf**, n. 1. *cave, sepulchre*: ds. eorðscræfe 780; ap. eorðscræfu 803. — 2. *crevasse*: ns. eorðscræf 1588.

**eorðware**, mpl., *inhabitants of the earth*: dp. eorðwarum 568.

**ēowde**, n., *flock*: as. 1669.

**ēower**, poss. pron., *your*: asf. ēowre 295; asm. ēowerne 339.

**ermðu**, see **yrmðu**.

**ern**, see **moldern**.

**Essāg**, pr. n., *Jesse*: gs. Essāges 879.

**ĕst**, f., *favor, grace*: as. 339, 517, 1215, 1374.

**ēste**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 483; asf. 1692.

**ēstlice**, adv., *willingly*: 292.

**et**, conj., Lat., *and*: 719.

**ēðel**, mn., *home, native land*: ns. 21, 525, AP. 113; gs. ēðles 16, 830; ds. ēðle 1162, AP. 101; as. ēðel 176, 226, 274, 642, 1258.

**ēðellēas**, adj., *homeless*: dsm. ēðellēasum 74.

**ēðelrice**, n., *native land, country*: ds. ēðelrice 120, 432.

**exl**, f., *shoulder*: as. exle 1575.

## F

**F** = *rune* ʃ AP. 98; for meaning, see NOTES.

**faa**, see **fah**.

**fæc**, n., *time, interval*: gp. faca 1371.

**fācen**, n., *crime, treachery*: gs. fācnes 1294; is. fācne 20.

**fæder**, m., *father*: ns. 330, 687, 846, 937, 1465, 1684, AP. 29; gs. 824, 1635; ds. 1346, 1410; as. 804, 997, 1500; vs. 83, 1412; np. fāderas 752. See **hēahfæder**.

**fāg**, adj., *discolored, spotted*: nsf. 1134. See **tigel-**, **blōd-**, **stānfāg**.

**fæge**, adj., *doomed to death*: gsm. fāges 154, 1182, 1332; npm. fæge 1530; gpm. fāgra 1085.

**fægen**, adj., *fain, glad*: nsm. fāgn 255; npm. fāgen 1041.

**fæger**, adj., *fair, pleasant*: dsm. fāgeran 598, 1693; superl. nsm. fāgrost 103.

**fægðo**, f., *feud, strife*: as. fægðe 284, fāhðo 1386.

**fāh**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 1346, 1705, fāg 769, 1188; npm. faa 1593, 1599; gpm. fāra 430, 1023, 1060.

**fæle**, see **ælfæle**.

**fālsian**, see **gefālsian**.

**fāmig**, adj., *foamy*: npm. fāmige 1524.

**fāmigheals**, adj., *foamy-necked*: nsm. 497.

**fāemne**, f., *woman*: gs. fāemnan AP. 29.

**fār**, m., *sudden peril*: as. 1530, 1629.

**faran**, 6, *go, fare*: 3 sg. fāreð 497; imp. 2 pl. farað 332; inf. 773, 796, 864, 954, 1279.

**fāeran**, see **āfāeran**.

**faroð**, n., *surge, ocean*: ds. faroðe 255, 1658. See **mere-**, **waroðfaroð**; see also **waroð**.

**faroðlācende**, adj., *seafaring*: nsm. 507.

**faroðrīdende**, adj., *seafaring*: npm. 440.

**faroðstræt**, f., *ocean*: ds. faroðstræte 311, 898.

**færspell**, n., *bad news*: ds. færspelle 1086.

**faru**, *see earh-, strēam-, wæg-, yðfaru*.

**fæst**, adj. 1. *fixed, fastened*: nsm. 1107; asm. fæstne 184, 962, 1038, 1357; npm. fæste 130; apm. 1492.—2. *steadfast*: asf. fæste 83.—3. *sound, heavy*: dsm. fæstan 795. *See dōm-, sōð-, staðol-, ðrym-, wær-, wīsfæst*.

**fæstan**, *see ætfæstan*.

**fæste**, adv., *firmly*: 58, 1671.

**fæsten**, n., *inclosure, fortress*: ds. fæstenne 1034, 1068, 1177, 1544. *See lagufæsten*.

**fæstlic**, *see sōðfæstlic*.

**fæstnian**, W2, *fasten, secure*: pret. 3 pl. fæstnodon 49. *See gefæstnian*.

**fæt**, *see sīðfæt*.

**fæted**, adj., *ornamented*: asn. 301.

**fætedsinc**, n., *treasure*: gs. fætedsinces 478.

**fæðm**, m. 1. *outstretched arms, embrace*: ds. fæðme 616; as. fæðm 1616; ip. fæðmum 824.—2. *bosom (of ship), hold*: as. fæðm 444.—3. *expanse* as. 252, 336.

**fæðme**, *see wīdfæðme*.

**fæðmian**, W2, *expand, spread*: pret. 3 pl. fæðmedon 1572; inf. 1589.

**fēa**, adj., *few*: ipm. fēam 605.

**-fēa**, *see gefēa*.

**feala**, indecl. n., *many*: 564, 584, 699, 710, 961, 969, 975, 1243, 1301, 1363, 1490.

**feallan**, R, *fall*: pret. 3 sg. fēoll 918.

**fealu**, adj., *yellow, dull-colored*: asm. fealone 1538, fealuwne 421; apm. fealewe 1589.

**fēasceaft**, adj., *destitute, wretched*: nsm. 1128, 1556; asm. fēasceaftne 181; apm. fēasceafte 367.

**fēdan**, *see āfēdan*.

**fēgan**, W1, *join, unite*: pret. 3 sg. fēgde AP. 98.

**fel**, n., *skin, hide*: as. 23.

**feld**, *see herefeld*.

**fell**, m., *fall, destruction*: as. 1609.

**-feng**, *see onfeng*.

**feohgestrēon**, n., *money, treasure*: as. 301.

**feoht**, *see gefeoht*.

**feohte**, f., *fight, battle*: as. 1023, 1350.

**feohtend**, *see wīðerfeohtend*.

**fēolan**, *see befēolan*.

**fēon**, *see gefēon*.

**fēond**, m., *enemy, devil*: gs. fēondes 20, 49, 1196, 1294, 1693; gp. fēonda 1619.

**feor**, adj., *far away, distant*: nsm. 898; nsn. feorr 423; asm. feorne 191, 252, 1173.

**feor**, adv., *far*: 542, 638, AP. 109.

**feorh**, n. 1. *life*: ns. AP. 37; gs. fēores 133, 179, 1101, 1107, 1130; ds. fēore 1538, *to wīdan fēore = ever, forever* 106, 810, 1452; as. feorh 216, 282, 430, 954, 1117, 1134, 1371, 1616, 1629, *wīdan feorh = forever* 1383, AP. 12, feorg AP. 58; is. fēore 284.—2. *soul*: ns. feorh 1288; as. 154.

**feorhgedāl**, n., *death*: ns. 181, 1427.

**feorhhord**, m., *body*: as. 1182.

**feorhræd**, m., *salvation*: as. 1654.

**-feorme**, *see orfeorme*.

**feormian**, *see gefeormian*.

**feorran**, adv., *from afar*: 265, 282.

**feorrancumen**, m., *one come from afar, stranger*: gp. feorrancumenra 24.

**feorrcund**, adj., *foreign*: gp. feorrcundra 1080.

**fēorða**, num. adj., *fourth*: ism. fēorðan 1458.

**feorweg**, m., *distant way or region*: ap. feorwegas 928.

**fēowertig**, num. adj., *forty*: 1036.

**fēowertýne**, num. adj., *fourteen*: 1593.

**-fēra**, *see gefēra*.

**fēran**, W1, *go*: 2 sg. fērest 1674; pret. 3 sg. fērde 662; opt. pres. 2 sg. fēre 224; inf. 174, 330, 786, 928, 931. *See gefēran*.

**ferend**, *see scip-*, *wīdferend*.

**ferian**, W2. 1. *bear, carry, convey*: pret. 3 sg. ferede 853, 906; pret. 3 pl. feredon 866; inf. ferian 347, ferigan 293, ferigean 824. — 2. *deal in, carry on*: pret. 2 sg. feredes 1363. *See ā-*, *geferian*.

**ferð**, mn. 1. *spirit, mind*: ns. fyrhð 638; ds. fyrhðe 507, ferðe 1485. — 2. *life*: as. ferð 174, 1332. *See collen-*, *forht-*, *stið-*, *stærceð-*, *wērigferð*.

**ferðgefēonde**, adj., *rejoicing in spirit*: nsm. 915; npm. ferhðgefēonde 1584.

**ferðloca**, m., *breast, heart*: ds. ferðlocan 1671, fyrhðlocan 58, 1570.

**fetorwrāsen**, f., *fetter, chain*: dp. fetorwrāsum 1107.

**fēða**, m., *troop, infantry*: as. fēðan 1188; np. 591.

**feðer**, f., *wing*: ip. feðerum 864.

**fex**, n., *hair*: ns. 1427.

**fif**, num. adj., *five*: 590, 591.

**fiftig**, num. adj., *fifty*: 1040.

**findan**, 3. 1. *find, discover*: 2 sg. findest 1349; pret. 3 pl. fundon 1076; inf. 1129, 1231, AP. 96. — 2. *attain*: inf. 980, 1154. — 3. *invent, compose*: pret. 1 sg. fand, AP. 1; inf. 1485. *See onfindan*.

**finit**, Lat., AP. 122.

**fīras**, mpl., *men*: gp. fīra 24, 160, 291, 409, 590, 920, 961, 980, 1286.

**firen**, f., *crime, sin*: dp. firenum 1664.

**firgendstrēam**, m., *mountain stream*: ns. 1573; as. firgendstrēam 390.

**first**, *see fyrst*.

**fisc**, m., *fish*: gs. fises 293; dp. fixum 589. *See hornfisc*.

**fitt**, f., *song, poem*: as. fitte AP. 98.

**fix**, *see fisc*.

**flāesc**, n., *body*: ds. flāesce AP. 37.

**flāeschoma**, m., *body*: np. flāeschaman 1085; ap. flāeschoman 24, 154, 160.

**flēam**, m., *flight*: ds. flēame 1386; as. flēam 1340; is. flēame 1544.

**-flēde**, *see inflēde*.

**flēogan**, 2, *fly*: pret. 3 pl. flugon 1546.

**flēon**, 2, *flee, escape from*: inf. 1538.

**flītan**, 1, *oppose, dispute*: 3 sg. flīteð 1199.

**flōd**, m. 1. *ocean*: gs. flōdes 252, 367, 1530; ds. flōde 265; as. flōd 421; ap. flōdas 906. — 2. *flood, deluge*: ns. flōd 1546, 1573, 1635; gs. flōdes 1616, 1629; ds. flōde 1582; as. flōd 1589. — 3. *stream*: is. flōde 954. *See lago-*, *wæter-*, *mereflōd*.

**flōdwyln**, m., *raging flood*: ns. 516.

**flot**, n., *sea*: ds. flote 1698.

**flota**, m., *ship*: as. flotan 397. *See æg-*, *sæ-*, *wægflota*.

**flōwan**, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. flēow 1524, 1573.

**flyht**, m., *flight*: ds. flyhte 864; is. 866.

**foddorðegu**, f., *food*: ds. foddorþege 160, foddurþege 1101.

**folc**, n., *people, nation*: ns. 653, 804, 1023, 1664?; gs. folces 29, 619, 662, 1068, 1086, 1301, 1570, 1596; ds. folce 784, 796, 1080, 1130, 1144, AP. 58; as. folc 430, 1196, 1506, 1556; is. folce 1643; gp. folca 330; dp. folcum 409, 606.

**folcmægen**, n., *company of people*: as. 1060.

**folcræd**, m., *public benefit*: as. 622.

**folcscearu**, f., *people, land*: ds. folcsceare 684.

**folcsceaða**, m., *evil-doer*: np. folcsceaðan 1593.

**folcstede**, m., *land*: ns. 20; ds. 179.

**folctoga**, m., *leader, prince*: np. folctogan 8, 1458.

**folde**, f. 1. *earth, world*: gs. foldan 336. — 2. *ground, soil*: ns. folde 1582; ds. foldan 737, 918, 969, 1427, 1524.



**foldweg**, m., *earth*: ds. foldwege 206;  
as. foldweg 775.

**folgian**, W2, *follow*: pret. 1 pl. folgodon 673.

**folm**, f., *hand*: ds. folme 1133; ip. folmum 522. [Cf. Lat. *palma*.]

**fōn**, see *be-*, *for-*, *onfōn*.

**for**, prep. w. dat., inst., and acc. 1. *before, in the presence of*: w. dat. 165, 509, 586, 767, 881, 924, 1127, 1168, 1200, 1209, 1298, AP. 55, 61; w. acc. 880, AP. 17. — 2. *for, on account of, because of*: w. dat. 39, 457, 610, 1086, 1285, AP. 73; w. inst. 1266. — 3. *for the sake of*: w. dat. 431, 633.

**fōr**, f., *journey*: as. fōre 191, 216, 337, 846.

**foran**, see *beforan*.

**forbēgan**, W1, *humble*: opt. pres. 2 pl. forbēgan 1333; pp. forbēged 1571.

**forcuman**, 4, *overcome, vanquish*: pret. 3 sg. forcōm 1325.

**forcūð**, see *unforcūð*.

**fordēn**, pp., *corrupt, wicked*: gp. fordēnera 43.

**fordrīfan**, 1, *drive*: pret. 3 sg. fordrāf 269.

**fore**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *before (local)*: w. dat. 728, 736, 840, 910, 993, 1032, 1650; AP. 11, 36, 71; w. acc. 1028, 1613; case indeterminate 721, 1499, 1668. — 2. *because of, through*: w. dat. 186, AP. 18.

**fore**, adv., *beforehand, yet, still*: 185.

**foreðanc**, m., *deliberation, perception*: gs. foreþances AP. 96.

**forfōn**, R, *seize, come upon suddenly*: pret. 3 sg. forfēng 995.

**forgifan**, 5, *give, grant*: pret. 3 sg. forgef 486, forgeaf 1586; pres. opt. 3 sg. forgife 355; imp. 2 sg. forgif 76.

**forgildan**, 3, *repay*: pres. opt. 3 sg. forgilde 387.

**forgrindan**, 3, *hack, injure*: pp. forgrunden 413.

**forht**, adj., *afraid*: nsm. 98, 1085; ap. forhte 448, 1340, 1500, 1609; ap. 457, 1041.

**forhtferð**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 1549, 1596.

**forhycgan**, W3, *despise, disdain*: pret. 2 sg. forhogedes 1381; pret. 3 pl. forhogodan AP. 84.

**forhylman**, W1, *neglect*: inf. 735.

**forlācan**, R, *mislead*: pret. 2 sg. forleolce 1364; pret. 3 sg. forleolc 614.

**forlæran**, W1, *mislead, instruct wrongly*: pret. 2 sg. forlærdest 1364; pret. 3 sg. forlærde 614.

**forlætan**, R. 1. *leave, abandon*: 2 sg. forlætest 1413; 3 sg. forlæteð 459; pret. 3 sg. forlēt 1037; pret. 3 pl. forlætan 802; opt. pret. 3 pl. forlæton 403. — 2. *let, grant, permit*: pret. 3 sg. forlēt 835, 968, 1588.

**forlor**, m., *loss, destruction*: ds. forlore 1423.

**formeltan**, 3, *melt away, be consumed*: inf. 1146.

**forniman**, 4, *carry off, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fornām 994, 1531, AP. 59.

**forst**, m., *frost*: ns. 1257.

**forstandan**, 6. 1. *defend*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1143, 1335. — 2. *oppose, deny*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1540.

**forswelgan**, 3, *swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. forswealg 1590.

**forð**, adv. 1. *forth, forwards*: 775, 1506, 1584. — 2. *still, yet, henceforth*: 54, AP. 110.

**forþan**, conj. 1. *therefore, thereby*: 458, 526. — 2. *because*: 529, AP. 47.

**forwyrd**, n., *destruction*: as. 1594, 1618.

**fōt**, m., *foot*: ns. 1582.

**fracoð**, adj., *hateful, despised*: npm. fracoðe 409.

**fram**, adj., see *from*.

**fram**, prep. w. dat., *from*: 697, 738, 1034, 1037, 1243, 1485, 1535, 1582, 1691.

**fræt**, adj., *obstinate, proud*: dsf. frætre 571; asn. fræte 1506.

**frætwe**, fpl., *treasures, ornaments*: ap.

frætwe 337, frætewa AP. 102.

**frætwian**, see *gefrætwian*.

**frēa**, m., *lord*: ns. 662, 714, 786; gs.

frēan 457, 653, 796, 1401, 1695; vs.

frēa 629, 1410. See *mānfrēa*.

**frec**, see *gūðfrec*.

**freca**, m., *hero, warrior*: ns. 1163. See *gūð-*, *hildfreca*.

**frēcne**, adj., *dangerous, terrible*: nsm.

1432; asm. 516; asf. 1350; npf. 440;

sup. asn. frēcnost 1231.

**frēfran**, W1, *comfort, console*: imp. 2 sg.

frēfra 421; inf. 367. See *āfrēfran*.

**-frēge**, see *gefrēge*.

**fremde**, adj., *strange, estranged from*

(w. gen.): nsm. 890.

**fremman**, W1. 1. *do, make, perform*:

Opt. pres. 2 sg. fremme 1354; pret.

3 sg. fremede 619, 622, 639, 815;

Pret. 3 pl. fremedon 1654; inf. 67,

780, 1208. — 2. *aid, advance*: inf.

934. See *gefremman*.

**frēo**, adj., *free, joyful*: npm. 598.

**frēod**, f., *love, good will*: ns. 1154; as.

frēode 390.

**frēolice**, adv., *gladly, willingly*: 293.

**frēond**, m., *friend*: gp. frēonda 934,

1128, 1705, AP. 91.

**frēondscipe**, m., *friendship*: as. 478.

**frēorig**, adj., *freezing, cold*: nsm. 491;

npm. 1259.

**freoðian**, see *gefreoðian*.

**freoðolēas**, adj., *hostile, wicked*: nsn. 29.

**freoðu**, see *frið*.

**freoðuwær**, f., *covenant of peace*: as.

freoðuwære 1630.

**fricca**, m., *herald*: np. friccan 1156.

**friclan**, W1, w. gen., *seek, ask for*: opt.

3 sg. fricle AP. 109.

**frignan**, 3, *ask, inquire*: 1 sg. frīne 633;

2 sg. frīnest 629; pret. 3 sg. frægn

556, 919, fregn 1163; inf. 1412. See

*gefrignan*.

**frīnan**, see *frignan*.

**frioðo**, f., *peace*: gs. 918; as. freoðe

1130; is. freoðo 336.

**frið**, mn., *peace, safety*: gs. friðes 448,

1128, AP. 91; ds. friðe 622; as. frið

174, 1034; is. friðe 915, 1432.

**frod**, adj. 1. *wise*: apm. frode 784. —

2. *old*: nsm. 506; nsn. 737.

**frōfor**, f., *comfort, consolation*: gs. frōfre

906, 1567, 1684, 1705, AP. 109; ds.

311, 606; as. 95, 1465.

**from**, adj., *brave, eager*; nsm. fram

234; npm. frome 8, frame AP. 12.

See *hild-*, *sīðfrom*.

**fromlice**, adv., *boldly*: 556, 1182, 1332,

1640.

**fruma**, m. 1. *beginning*: ds. fruman

1485. — 2. *Lord, the Alpha*: ns.

fruma 226, 556. See *dæd-*, *ēad-*,

*lēod-*, *lēoht-*, *līf-*, *ordfruma*.

**frumbearn**, n., *first-born child, leader*:

as. 1294.

**frumgār**, m., *leader*: np. frumgāras

1068.

**frumræden**, f., *arrangement previously*

*agreed upon, period*: gs. frumrædenne

147.

**frumsceaft**, f., *creation*: ds. frumsceaft

797.

**frumweorc**, n., *creature, creation*: gp.

frumweorca 804.

**fugol**, m., *bird*: ds. fugole 497.

**ful**, adv., *fully, very*: 496. See *syn-*,

*ðrym-*, *ðryðful*.

**fultum**, m., *help*: gs. fultomes AP.

91.

**fulwiht**, n., *baptism*: ns. 1643; gs.

fullwihtes 1640; ds. fulwihte 1630;

as. fulwiht 1635.

**furðum**, adv., *even, just*: 797.

**furður**, adv., *further*: 1350, 1489, 1518.

**fūs**, adj. 1. *ready to set out, eager*:

nsm. 255; asm. fūsne 1654. — 2. *sad,*

*declining*: nsm. 1664. See *ellor-*,

*hell-*, *hynfūs*.

**fūsleod**, n., *death-song*: as. 1549.

- fyllan**, W1, *overthrow, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 1688.
- fyllan**, W1, w. gen., *fill*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 523. *See* gefyllan.
- fynde**, *see* yðfynde.
- fyrðhwæt**, adj., *active in war*: npm. fyrðhwate 8, AP. 12.
- fýren**, adj., *fiery*: dpm. fýrnum 1378.
- fýrgnāst**, m., *spark of fire*: np. fýrgnāstas 1546.
- fyrht**, *see* godfyrht.
- fyrhtan**, *see* āfyrhtan.
- fyrhð**, *see* fērð.
- fyrhðlufe**, f., *heartfelt love*: as. fyrhðlufan 83.
- fýrmæl**, n., *mark of fire*: ip. fýrmælum 1134.
- fyrn**, *see* unfyrn.
- fyrndagas**, mpl., *former days*: dp. fyrndagum 1, 752, 976.
- fyrngeweorc**, n., *ancient fabric, creation*: ns. 737.
- fyrnsægen**, n., *old tradition*: ns. 1489.
- fyrnsceaþa**, m., *ancient enemy*: ns. 1346.
- fyrnweorc**, n., *creature, creation*: gp. fýrnweorca 1410.
- fyrnwita**, m., *patriarch*: np. fýrnweotan 784.
- fyrst**, m., *period of time*: ns. first 147; as. fyrst 834, 1309, 1673.
- fyrstgemearc**, n., *appointed time*: gs. fyrstgemearcas 931.
- fyrstmearc**, n., *appointed time*: ds. fyrstmearce 133.
- fyrþran**, W1, *advance, help*: inf. 934. *See* gefyrðran.
- fýsan**, W1. 1. *prepare, get ready*: inf. 1698. — 2. *incite*: 2 sg. fýsest 1187.
- galan**, 6, *sing*: pret. 3 pl. gōlon 1549; inf. 1127, 1342.
- gælan**, W1, *delay*: pret. 3 pl. gældon 1533.
- galdor**, m., *song*: gs. galdres AP. 108.
- galdorcræft**, m., *magic art*: ip. galdorcræftum 166.
- galga**, *see* gealga.
- gān**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gāð 1665; pret. 3 sg. ēode 982, 1001; pret. 3 pl. ēodon 45; imp. 2 sg. gā 1348; imp. 2 pl. gāð 1182, 1332; inf. 365, 775. *See* gangan, āgān, ofer-ēode.
- gang**, m., *passage, circuit, path*: ns. 1694, gong 869; as. gang 208, 455. *See* begang.
- gangan**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gangaþ 891; imp. 2 sg. gong 939; inf. 238, 1059, 1356, gengan 1095, geongan 1311.
- gār**, m., *spear*: gs. gāres 187, 1330; np. gāras 127; gp. gāra 32; dp. gārum 1143; ip. 45. *See* frumgār.
- gārgewinn**, n., *battle, opposition*: as. 958.
- gærs**, n., *grass*: ns. 38.
- gārsecg**, m., *ocean*: ns. 238, 392; gs. gārsecges 530; as. gārsecg 371.
- gæsne**, adj., *dead*: npm. 1084.
- gast**, *see* bēodgast.
- gāst**, m. 1. *mind, soul, life*: ns. 468; gs. gāstes 155; ds. gāste 782, 917, 1084; as. gāst 187, 1327, 1416; np. gāstas 640, 1617; gp. gāsta 331, 548, 901. — 2. *spirit (holy)*: ns. 728, 906, 1684; gs. gāstes 531, 1000, 1621, AP. 114. — 3. *spirit (evil)*: ns. 1296; gs. gāstes 1694.
- gāstgehygd**, n., *thought*: ip. gāstgehygdum 861.
- gāstgerýne**, n., *spiritual mystery*: ip. gāstgerýnum 858.
- gāstlic**, adj., *living, having mind or soul*: ns. 1628.
- ge . . . ge**, conj., *both . . . and*: 542.
- geācllan**, W2, *frighten*: pp. geāclod 805.

## G

- Gad**, pr. n., *Gad*: ns. AP. 57.
- gadrigea**, W2, *collect, gather together*: inf. 781, gadorigea 1556.
- gafulræden**, f., *tribute, fare*: as. gafulrædenne 296.

**geador**, adv., *together*: 1097, eador 1627.  
**gealga**, m., *gallows, cross*: as. gealgan 966, AP. 22; ds. 1327, 1409, galgan AP. 40.

**gealgmōd**, adj., *cruel, wicked*: npm. gealgmōde 32, 563.

**gēap**, *see* horngēap.

**gēara**, adv., *formerly*: 1387.

**Gearapolis**, pm., *Hierapolis*: d. Gearapolim AP. 40.

**geard**, *see* ealdor-, middangeard.

**gēardagas**, mpl., *former days, old times*: dp. gēardagum 1519.

**geare**, adv., *well, certainly*: comp. gearwor 932.

**gearu**, adj., *ready*: nsm. 72, 214, 1535, gearo 234; nsf. 907, 1153, 1567, 1579; npm. gearwe 1369; apn. gearu 1358.

**geāscian**, W2, *learn of*: pret. 3 pl. geāscodon 44.

**geat**, *see* burg-, weallgeat.

**gebæro**, f., *behavior, action*: ns. 1570.

**gebed**, n., *prayer*: ds. gebede 1027.

**gebēodan**, 2, *offer*: pp. geboden 219.

**geberan**, 4, *bring forth, bear*: pp. npm. geborene 690.

**gebīdan**, 1. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1702; opt. pres. 3 pl. gebīdan 399. — 2. *remain still*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1587.

**gebiddan**, 5, *beseech, implore*: pret. 3 sg. gebæd 996.

**gebindan**, 3, *bind*: pret. 3 pl. gebundon 48, 1222; pp. gebunden 1379, 1396, npm. gebundene 580, apm. 947.

**gebledsian**, W2. 1. *bless*: pp. gebledsod 524, 937. — 2. *revere, honor*: pp. gebledsod 540, 1719.

**geblissian**, W2, *gladden, bless*: pp. geblissod 351, 468, 892.

**geblond**, n., *commotion*: ns. 532. *See* ārgeblond.

**geblondan**, R, *mix, stir up*: pret. 3 pl. geblēndan 33; pp. geblonden 424.

**geblōwan**, R, *bloom, blossom*: pp. apm. geblōwene 1448.

**gebrec**, *see* bāngebrec.

**gebrecan**, 5, *break down, injure*: pp. gebrocen 1404, 1473.

**gebringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 pl. gebrōhton 1710; opt. pret. 2 sg. gebrōhte 273.

**gebrōðor**, mpl., *brothers*: np. 1027; dp. gebrōðrum 1014.

**gecēosan**, 2, *choose*: pret. 3 sg. gecēas AP. 19; pp. gecoren 324, npm. gecorene AP. 5.

**gecnāwan**, R, *recognize*: inf. 1517, 1558.

**gecringan**, 3, *fall, die*: pret. 3 sg. gecrang AP. 60, 72.

**gecrod**, *see* lindgecrod.

**gecweðan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. gecwæð 896, 1172, 1299, 1361, 1400, 1465, 1663.

**gecynd**, f., *kind*: as. 588.

**gecyrran**, W1, *return*: pret. 3 pl. gecyrdon 1078.

**gecȳðan**, W1, *make known, show*: 3 sg. gecȳðeð 1435; 1 pl. gecȳðað 859; pret. 2 sg. gecȳðdest 390; pret. 3 sg. gecȳðde 564, 700, 711; pp. gecȳðed 90, 358; inf. 289, 784, 796, 803, 965.

**gedafenian**, W2, *benefit*: 3 sg. gedafenað 317.

**gedāl**, *see* feorh-, sǣwulgedāl.

**gedælar** W1. 1. *give over to, consign to*: inf. 955, 1217. — 2. *separate, part from*: pp. gedæled AP. 82; inf. AP. 36. — 3. *part, disband*: pret. 3 pl. gedældon 5.

**gedōn**, anv., *do*: pp. 765; inf. 342, 1444.

**gedræg**, n. 1. *tumult, lamentation*: ns. 1555. — 2. *throng*: ns. 43.

**gedreccan**, W1, *afflict, torment*: pret. 3 sg. gedrehte 39.

**gedrēfan**, W1, *trouble, stir up*: pp. gedrēfed 369, 394, 1529.

**gedrēosan**, 2, *pass away*: inf. AP. 100.

**gedrep**, n., *stroke*: as. 1444.

**gedryht**, *see* willgedryht.

**gedūfan**, 2, *sink, penetrate*: inf. 1331.

**gedwola**, m., *error, false belief*: as. gedwolan 611, 1688.

- gefælsian**, W2, *cleanse*: pp. gefælsod AP. 66.
- gefæstnian**, W2. 1. *establish*: pret. 3 sg. gefæstnode 522. — 2. *place, fix*: pret. 3 sg. gefæstnode 1378.
- gefēa**, m., *joy, happiness*: ds. gefēan 347, 598, 866, 1670, 1693; as. AP. 81; gp. gefēana 890.
- gefeoht**, n., *fight, conflict*: ds. gefeohte 1188, 1196.
- gefēon**, 5, w. inst., *enjoy*: pret. 3 pl. gefēgon 592, 659. *See ferðgefeonde.*
- gefeormian**, W2, *devour*: pret. 3 pl. gefeormedon 1090.
- gefēra**, m., *companion*: as. gefēran 1009, 1020.
- gefēran**, W1, *accomplish, pass through*: 2 pl. gefērað 677; pret. 1 sg. gefērde 1401; pres. opt. 1 pl. gefēran 516; inf. 194, 216.
- geferian**, W2, *conduct, bring*: pp. gefered 1173, 1619; npm. geferede 265; inf. 397.
- gefrætwian**, W2, *adorn, honor*: pret. 3 sg. gefrætwode 1518; pp. gefrætwed 715.
- gefrēge**, n., *knowledge*: is. 1626, AP. 25.
- gefrēge**, adj., *known, celebrated*: nsn. 668, 961, 1119.
- gefremman**, W1, *perform, do*. 1 sg. gefremme 1288; pret. 2 sg. gefremdest 926; pret. 3 sg. gefremede 91, 605, 1198, 1387; pret. 3 pl. gefremedan 1445; pp. gefremed 976; inf. 191, 426, 1614; ger. gefremmanne 206.
- gefreoðlian**, W2, *liberate, set free*: pret. 3 sg. gefreoðode 1041.
- gefrignan**, 3, *learn of, hear*: pret. 1 sg. gefrægn 1093, 1706; pret. 1 pl. gefrūnan 1; pp. gefrægen 687, 1060.
- gefyllan**, W1, *complete*: pp. npm. gefylde 1695.
- gefyrðran**, W1, *support, protect*: pp. gefyrðred 983.
- gegninga**, adv., *straightway*: 1349, 1354.
- gegnslege**, m., *interchange of blows*: d. 1356.
- gegrētan**, W1, *greet*: pret. 3 sg. grētte 254.
- gegrind**, n., *commotion, tumult*: 1590.
- gehæftan**, W1. 1. *bind, imprison*: pp. gehæfted 1127. — 2. *afflict*: npm. gehæfte 1158.
- gehālgian**, W2, *consecrate*: pret. 3 gehālgode 586, 1650; pp. gehālg 1646.
- gehātan**, R, *promise*: pret. 2 sg. geh 1418.
- gehealdan**, R, *maintain, keep*: pre. pl. gehēoldon 346; inf. 213.
- gehēgan**, W1, *perform, hold (council meeting)*: pret. 3 sg. gehēde 1 pret. 3 pl. gehēdon 157, gehēdan 1 inf. 930.
- gehēred**, *see gehyran.*
- gehladan**, 6, *load*: pp. asm. gehlad 361.
- gehnāegan**, W1, *humble*: pres. opt. 2 F gehnāegan 1183; pret. 2 sg. gehnādest 1319; pret. 3 sg. gehnāgde 119
- gehrēodan**, 2, *adorn*: pp. apm. geh dene 1449.
- gehðu**, *see geohðu.*
- gehwā**, pron., *each*: gsm. gehwæs 9 gsf. gehwære 630; gsn. gehwæs 3 338; dsm. gehwām 65, 637; dsf. 12 dsn. 408.
- gehweorfan**, 3. 1. *turn, fall*: pre. 3 sg. gehwearf 694, 1103. — 2. *vert*: 2 sg. gehweorfest 974.
- gehwylc**, pron., *each, all*: gsm. (ān gehwylces 1283; dsm. gehwylc 908, 980, 1152; asm. (ānra) gehwylc 933; asn. (landa) gehwylc 935.
- gehycgan**, W3, *suppose*: pret. 2 gehogodon 429.
- gehygd**, fn., *mind, thought*: as. 14 ap. gehygdo 68, 200. *See brēo gāst-, misgehygd.*
- gehyld**, n., *protection*: as. 117, 104

**gehýran**, W1. 1. *hear, learn, heed*: 2 pl. gehýrað 1197; pret. 1 sg. gehýrde 651; pret. 1 pl. gehýrdon AP. 23, 63; pret. 3 pl. 894; opt. pret. 2 sg. gehýrde 574; imper. 2 sg. gehēr 1498; pp. gehýred 92, 1554, gehēred 168; inf. 341, 595, 811. — 2. *receive hear-ings*: pret. 3 pl. gehýrdon 577.

**gehyrstan**, W1, *equip*: pp. gehyrsted 45.

**gelāc**, n., *commotion, conflict*: as. 1092.

*See lind-, lyft-, scingelāc.*

**gelāca**, *see gūðgelāca.*

**gelād**, n., *way*: as. 190.

**gelædan**, W1. 1. *lead, conduct*: 3 pl. gelædaþ 282; pret. 3 sg. gelædde 1033; pret. 2 pl. gelæddon 430; inf. 822. — 2. *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. gelædde AP. 43.

**gelang**, adj., *near at hand, attainable*: nsf. 979.

**gelæran**, W1, *instruct*: inf. 1353.

**gelæstan**, W1, *support, help*: pret. 3 sg. gelæste 411.

**gelēafa**, m., *belief, faith*: gs. gelēafan 1680, AP. 66; as. 335.

**gelenge**, adj., *pertaining to, of the nature of*: nsf. 1474.

**gelēogan**, 2, w. dat., *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. gelāh 1074.

**gelettan**, W1. 1. *let, hinder*: inf. 518. — 2. *procrastinate*: inf. 800.

**gelīc**, adj., *like*: asm. gelīcne 494; superl. nsm. gelīcost 497; nsn. gelīcost 501, 953.

**gelīce**, adv., *like*: superl. gelīcost 1145.

**gelicgan**, 5, *stretch along*: 3 pl. gelicgaþ 334.

**gelōme**, adv., *often*: 1163.

**gelyfan**, W1, *have faith in, trust*: 1 sg. gelyfe 1284; pret. 3 pl. gelyfdon 142, 562, 813; inf. 733.

**gemæ̃l**, adj., *stained, spotted*: nsn. 1331.

**gemæ̃ne**, adj., *mutual*: nsf. 1013.

**gemang**, n., *company*: ds. gemange 730.

**gemæ̃rsian**, W2, *celebrate*: pp. gemæ̃rsod 544.

**gemearc**, *see fyrst-, ðinggemearc.*

**gemēde**, adj., *pleasant*: superl. nsn. gemēdost 594.

**gemet**, n., *limit, measure*: as. gemet 309, 1481; np. gemeotu 454.

**gemet**, adj., *fitting*: nsn. 1178.

**gemētan**, W1, *find, meet*: pret. 3 sg. gemētte 241, 245, 1061; pret. 3 pl. gemētton 143, 1082.

**gemōt**, n., *assembly*: ds. gemōte 650; as. gemōt 1059.

**gemunan**, PP, *remember*: pres. 3 sg. geman 639.

**gemyltan**, W1, *soften, melt*: inf. 1393.

**gemynd**, fn., *memory, thought*: dp. gemyndum 960. *See mōd-, ūpgemynd.*

**gemyndig**, adj., *mindful*: nsm. 161, 981, 1001, 1263, 1312, AP. 107.

**gemyrran**, W1, *hinder, disturb*: pp. npm. gemyrde 746.

**gēn**, *see ðā gēn.*

**gēna**, *see nū gēna.*

**gēncwide**, m., *answer*: ip. gēncwidum 858.

**generian**, W1, *save, preserve*: pp. apm. generede 1037.

**genēðan**, W1, w. inst., *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. genēðde AP. 17, 50; inf. 950, 1351.

**gengan**, *see gangan.*

**geniðla**, *see eald-, mǣn-, torngeniðla.*

**geniwiian**, W2, *renew*: pp. geniwiad 1010.

**genōg**, adj., *enough*: nsm. 1534.

**gēoc**, f., *help, comfort*: ns. 1585; gs. gēoce 1030, 1567, AP. 108; as. 1152.

**gēocend**, m., *Comforter, Lord*: vs. 548; as. 901.

**geofa**, *see willgeofa.*

**geofon**, n., *ocean*: ns. 393, 1585, 1624; gs. geofones 852; ds. geofone 498, geofene 1531, 1615; as. geofon 1508.

**geogoð**, f., *young persons, youth*: ns. 1634; ds. geogoðe 152, 1615; is. eogoðe 1122.

**geogoðhād**, m., *youthfulness*: ds. geogoðhāde 782.

**geohðu**, f., *care, tribulation*: as. geohðo 1665, gehðo 1548; dp. geohðum 1008; ap. geohða 66.

**gēomor**, adj., *sad*: nsm. 1008, 1408; dsm. gēomrum AP. 89; isf. gēomran 61, 1126. *See hyge-, mōd-, sīðgēomor.*

**gēomorgidd**, n., *complaint, death-song*: ns. 1548.

**gēomormōd**, adj., *sad*: nsm. 1398; npm. gēomormōde 406.

**gēomrian**, W2, *grieve, sorrow*: ptc. npm. gēomriende 1665.

**geond**, prep. w. acc., *through, throughout, over*: 25, 42, 331, 332, 371, 576, 709, 762, 768, 961, 1120, 1434, 1637.

**geong**, adj., *young*: nsm. 505, 1150, AP. 57, geonga 1126; gsm. geongan 1117; asm. geongne 551, 1110; npm. geonge 392, 858; apm. 1531, 1624. *See cild-geong, edglong.*

**geongan**, *see gangan.*

**geopenian**, W2, *open, reveal*: pp. geopenad 889.

**georn**, adj., *eager*: nsm. 66, 959. *See dōmgeorn.*

**georne**, adv. 1. *zealously, earnestly*: 612, 1606, 1653; comp. geornor AP. 115. — 2. *certainly, truly*: 498.

**gēotan**, 2, *pour, gush*: ptc. nsn. gēotende 393, 1508, 1590. *See āgēotan.*

**gereordian**, W2, *feed, refresh*: pp. gereordod 385.

**gerīm**, *see nihtgerīm.*

**gerwan**, *see gyrwan.*

**gerȳman**, W1, *give place, make room*: pp. gerȳmed 1580.

**gerȳne**, n., *secret*: ap. gerȳnu 419, gerȳno 1511. *See gāstgerȳne.*

**gesælan**, W1, *befall, happen*: 3 sg. gesæleð 511, 515; pret. 3 sg. gesæalde 438, 661.

**gesamnian**, W2, *assemble, collect*: 3 pl. gesamnodon 652, 1636, gesamnedon 1067; pp. gesamnod 1067. *See samnian.*

**gesceaft**, f. 1. *creation (heaven earth)*: ns. 1437; as. AP. 116, 117. — 2. *creature*: np. gesceafte 149, gp. gesceafta 326, 703, 1717.

**gescēnan**, W1, *break, wound*: inf. 1142.

**gesceððan**, 6, with wk. pret., *harm, injure*: pret. 3 sg. gescēod 1176, wk. pret. gescēode 18; pret. opt. 3 sg. gescēode 1420; inf. 917.

**gescirpla**, m., *garment*: ap. gescirplan 250.

**gescrīfan**, 1, *prescribe, appoint*: pret. 3 sg. gescrāf 846; pp. gescrifen 787; apm. gescrifene 297.

**gescyldan**, W1, *protect*: 3 sg. gescyldeð 434.

**gescyldend**, m., *protector*: ns. 1291.

**gescȳrdan**, W1, *veil, shroud*: pp. gescȳrded 1313.

**gescyrigan**, W1, *allot*: opt. pres. 2 sg. gescyrige 85.

**gesēcan**, W1, *seek, go to, reach*: pret. 3 sg. gesōhte 380, AP. 32, 39, 62; pret. 3 pl. gesōhton 268, 1121; pp. gesōhte 845, 1132; inf. 175, 1701, AP. 93; ger. gesēcanne 295, 424.

**gesecgan**, W1, *tell, say*: pret. 3 sg. gesægde 384; inf. 603, 624.

**gesellan**, W1, *grant, give up (life)*: pret. 3 sg. gesealde AP. 58; pret. 3 pl. gesealdon 433, 1616, AP. 85; pp. geseald 646, 909, 1435.

**gesēon**, 5. 1. *see, behold*: 3 pl. gesēoð 1500; pret. 1 sg. geseah 493, 499; pret. 3 sg. 1492, 1690, geseh 714, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448; pret. 1 pl. gesēgon 455, 881; imper. 2 sg. gesēoh 1281, 1441; inf. 760, 987, 1714, gesion 1225. — 2. *refl. see one another*: inf. 1013. — 3. *receive sight*: pret. 3 pl. gesēgon 581.

**geset**, n., *habitation*: ap. gesetu 1259.

- ge-~~an~~**, W1, *appoint*: pret. 3 sg. ge-  
1647; pp. geseted 156.  
**gesihð**, *gesihð*, see *gesyhð*.  
**sittan**, 5, *sit*: pret. 3 sg. gesæt  
359, 1063; pret. 3 pl. gesæton  
1161.  
**sið**, see *ealdgesið*.  
**espann**, n., *ring, spangle*: as. 302.  
**espōwan**, R impers. w. dat., *succeed*:  
Pret. 3 sg. gespēow 1344.  
**esprec**, n., *speech*: as. 577.  
**esprecan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 1 sg. gespræc  
923.  
**estandan**, R, *stand*: pret. 3 sg. gestōd  
707.  
**estæppan**, 6, *step*: pret. 3 sg. gestōp  
1582.  
**estaðolian**, W2, *establish, fashion*:  
Pret. 3 sg. gestaðelode 162, gestaðo-  
lade 536.  
**gesteald**, see *wuldorgesteald*.  
**gestealla**, see *lindgestealla*.  
**gestigan**, 1, *mount, enter*: pret. 1 sg.  
gestāh 899; inf. 222.  
**gestillan**, W1, *become quiet*: pret. 3 sg.  
gestilde 532.  
**gestrēon**, n., *possession, treasure*: ap.  
Ap. 83. See *feoh-*, *hēah-*, *hord-*,  
*sincgestrēon*.  
**geswencan**, W1, *torment, afflict*: pp.  
geswenced 116, 394.  
**geswīcan**, 1, w. dat., *cease, depart*: 1 sg.  
geswīce 1290.  
**geswing**, n., *surge, beating, swell*: as.  
352.  
**geswingan**, 3, *afflict*: pp. geswungen  
1396. See *swingan*.  
**geswīðan**, W1, *strengthen*: pp. geswī-  
ðed 697, 701.  
**gesyhð**, f., *sight*: ds. gesyhðe 705, ge-  
siehðe 620; as. gesihð 30.  
**gesýne**, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 526, 549,  
1602; gpn. gesýnra 565.  
**getācan**, W1, *instruct, indicate*; pret.  
3 sg. getāhte 6; opt. pret. 2 sg. ge-  
tāhte 485.  
**getācnian**, W2, *express, symbolize*: pret.  
3 sg. getācnode 1512.  
**gētan**, see *āgētan*.  
**-gete**, see *orgete*.  
**getellan**, W1, *tell, count*: pp. geteled  
665, 1035, apm. getealde 883.  
**getēon**, W2, *appoint, order*: pret. 3 sg.  
getēode 14.  
**getihhian**, W2, *consider, claim*: pp.  
getihhad 1320.  
**getimbran**, W1. 1. *build*: pp. getim-  
bred 667; inf. 1633. — 2. *confirm*:  
imp. 2 sg. getimbre 1671.  
**getingan**, 3, w. dat., *press upon*: pret.  
3 sg. getang 138.  
**getrahtian**, W2, *consider*: pp. getrah-  
tod 1359. [Cf. Lat. *tractare*.]  
**getrēowe**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 984.  
**getrum**, n., *troop*: is. getrume 707.  
**geðanc**, m., *thought, mind*: ds. geþance  
237. See *ingeðanc*.  
**geðancul**, adj., *thoughtful, sagacious*:  
nsm. geþancul 462.  
**geðeon**, 1, *grow, prosper*, in pp. *virtuous,*  
*excellent*: pp. geþungen 528.  
**geðing**, n. 1. *fate, experience, destiny*:  
gp. geþinga 1598; ap. geþingu 756. —  
2. *appointment, command*: ds. ge-  
þinge 794. See *gūðgeðingu*.  
**geðofta**, see *trēowgeðofta*.  
**geðoht**, m., *thought, meditation*: gp.  
geþohta 744.  
**geðolian**, W2, *suffer, endure*: pret. 3 sg.  
geðolode 1490; imper. 2 sg. geþola  
107; ger. geðolianne 1136, geþoli-  
genne 1659, geþolienne 1689.  
**geðræc**, n., *tumult, violence*: as. geþræc  
823.  
**geðrēatian**, W2, *suppress, overcome*:  
pp. geðrēatod 436, geþrēatod 1115.  
**geðring**, n., *crowd, tumult*: as. 368.  
**geðringan**, 3, *approach, draw near*: pp.  
geþrunge 990.  
**geðyldig**, see *mōdgeðyldig*.  
**geðýn**, W1, *rebuke, subjugate*: pp. geðýd  
436.



**geunnan**, 3, w. gen., *grant*: inf. 179, 1131.

**gewadan**, 6, *arise, come*: pret. 3 sg. gewōd 1246.

**gewætan**, W1, *wet*: pp. npf. gewætte 375.

**gewealc**, n., *rolling, tossing*: as. 259.

**geweald**, n., *power*: as. 518, 1273, 1317, 1619. *See* æhtgeweald.

**gewealdan**, R, w. inst., *rule*: inf. 1365.

**gewemman**, W1, *spot, defile*: pp. gewemmed 1471.

**geweorc**, n., *fabrication*: as. 1077; ap. 1495. *See* ær-, fyrngeweorc.

**geweorp**, n., *ridge, heap*: as. 306. *See* wintergeworp.

**geweorðan**, 3. 1. *happen, take place*: 3 sg. geweorðeð 1437; 3 pl. geweorðað 1500; pret. opt. 3 sg. gewurde 558; inf. 730, gewyrðan 573. — 2. *become, be*: pret. 3 sg. gewearð 167, 804; pret. opt. 2 sg. gewurde 550; pp. apm. gewordne 457. — 3. *occur, befall* (impers.): pret. 3 sg. gewearð 307.

**geweorðian**, W2, *honor*: 3 sg. geweorðað 938; pp. geweorðod AP. 15, gewyrðod 116.

**gewinn**, n. 1. *conflict, tumult*: as. 197, 932. — 2. *sorrow, trouble*: ns. 888. *See* gār-, gūð-, hand-, waruðgewinn.

**gewinna**, m., *opponent, rival*: as. gewinnan 1197, 1249, 1301.

**gewitan**, 1, *go*: pret. 3 sg. gewāt 118, 225, 235, 655, 696, 706, 786, 977, 1044, 1058, 1247, 1304, 1457, 1675; pret. 3 pl. gewiton 1594, geweotan 801.

**gewitt**, n., *mind, understanding*: ds. gewitte 212, 316, 470, 552, 672, 769, 1265, AP. 87; as. gewit 35, 645.

**gewlitigian**, W2, *beautify, adorn*: pp. gewlitegod 669, gewlitegad 543.

**geworp**, *see* wintergeworp.

**gewunian**, W2. 1. *accompany, stay with*: inf. 1661. — 2. *remain, abide*: inf. 279.

**gewyrcean**, W1. 1. *fashion*: pret. 3 pl. geworhton 1073; 1 ger. geworhte 716. — 2. *deserve*: 1 sg. geworhte 920.

**gewyrht**, n., *deed*: dp. gewyrhtum 1366, 1611; gewyrht, case indeterminable. 1025.

**gewyrhta**, m., *doer*: dp. gewyrhtum 1180.

**gewyrðian**, *see* geweorðian.

**geyppan**, W1, *reveal*: pp. geyppeð 1223.

**gicel**, *see* cylegicel.

**gidd**, n., *song*: gs. giddes AP. 89. *See* gēomorgidd.

**giddung**, *see* lēoðgiddung.

**giellan**, 3, *yell*: pret. 3 pl. gullon 127.

**gif**, n., *gift, grace*: as. 575.

**gif**, conj., *if*: 70, 210, 212, 288, 344, 407, 417, 460, 479, 482, 557, 1350, 1424, 1521, 1568, 1612.

**gifa**, *see* blæd-, ēad-, symbelgifa, willgeofa.

**gifan**, 5, *give*: 3 sg. gifeð 1151; pret. 3 sg. geaf 317; opt. pres. 3 sg. gife 388. *See* ā-, for-, ofgifan.

**gifeðe**, n., *fate, chance*: ns. 1066; as. 489.

**gīfre**, adj., *greedy*: dpf. gifrum 1335. *See* wælgīfre.

**gifu**, f., *gift*: as. 480, 530, 548, 754; ip. geofum 551, giofum 1519. *See* sinc-, wuldorgifu.

**gild**, n., *idol*: ap. 1319. *See* dēofol-, hādengild.

**gildan**, 3, *bestow, grant*: 3 sg. gildeð, AP. 119. *See* forgildan.

**gīman**, W1, w. gen., *regard, be heedful*: pret. 3 pl. gīmdon 139.

**gimm**, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. gim 1268; gp. gimma 1519. [Lat. *gemma*.] *See* hēafodgimm.

**gīnan**, *see* tōgīnan.

**gingra**, m., *disciple*: np. gingran 894, 1330; ap. 427, 847.

**ginn**, adj., *spacious, broad*: asm. ginne 331.

**ginnan**, *see* **onginnan**.

**gīt**, adv., *yet, further*: 1487. *See* **ðā gīt**, **nū gýt**.

**gitan**, *see* **be-**, **ongitan**.

**glædmōd**, adj., *happy, joyful*: nsm. 1059.

**glēaw**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 557, 817, 1497, AP. 96; asm. **gleawne** 1648, **glawne** 143. *See* **æglēaw**.

**glēawlice**, adv., *wisely*: 427, 861.

**glēawmōd**, adj., *wise of mind*: nsm. 1579.

**glīdan**, 1, *glide, go*: 3 sg. **glīdeð** 498; pret. 3 sg. **glād** 371; inf. 1248, 1304. *See* **tōglīdan**.

**gnāst**, *see* **fyr̥gnāst**.

**gnornhof**, n., *house of sorrow*: ds. **gnomhofe** 1008, 1043.

**god**, m. 1. *God*: n. 14, 91, 260, 326, 425, 459, 534, 563, 703, 751, 758, 894, 925, 1143, 1335, 1376, 1462, 1510, 1661, 1717; g. **godes** 117, 234, 560, 747, 776, 794, 999, 1028, 1045, 1613, 1634, 1644, 1647, AP. 65; d. **gode** 205, 958, 1011, 1150, 1398, 1579, 1620, AP. 115; a. **god** 275, 657, 760, 785, 1030, 1188, 1387; v. **god** 76, 897, 1281, 1409, 1415. — 2. in the pl., *heathen gods*: gp. **goda** 1319; ap. **godu** AP. 49.

**gōd**, n., *prosperity, happiness*: is. **gōde** 406, 1617; gp. **gōda** 338.

**gōd**, adj., *good*: asm. **gōdne** 480, 922. *See* **betera**, **sēlra**.

**godbearn**, n., *son of God*: ns. 640.

**godcund**, adj., *divine*: gsm. **godcundes** AP. 114.

**godfyrht**, adj., *God-fearing*: asm. **godfyrhtne** 1022; npm. **godfyrhte** 1516.

**godspell**, n., *gospel*: as. 12.

**gold**, n., *gold*: ds. **golde** 1508; as. **gold** 301, 338.

**goldburg**, f., *town*: as. 1655.

**gong**, *see* **gang**.

**gongan**, *see* **gangan**.

**grædig**, adj., *greedy*: npm. **gr**  
*See* **heoro-**, **wælgræd**

**grafan**, *see* **āgrafan**.

**græg**, adj., *gray*: nsm. **græga** 371.

**gram**, adj., *angry, hostile*: npm. **grame** 917, **grome** 563; gpm. **gramra** 217, 951, 1059.

**gramhȳdig**, adj., *hostile*: gsm. **gramhȳdiges** 1694.

**grāp**, f., *clutch, grip*: dp. **grāpum** 1335.

**grēne**, adj., *green*: apm. 776. *See* **eall-grene**.

**grēot**, n., *ground, beach*: ds. **grēote** 238, 254, 425, 794, 847, 1084, 1624.

**grētan**, W1, *greet, address*: pret. 3 sg. **grētte** 61, 1030, 1464; inf. 1022. *See* **gegrētan**.

**grimm**, adj., *fierce*: asf. **grimme** 1387; asn. **grim** 958; npn. 1365; gpf. **grimra** 1487. *See* **heoro-**, **hete-**, **wælgrim**.

**grind**, *see* **gegrind**.

**grindan**, 3, *grind, dash*: pret. 3 pl. **grundon** 373. *See* **forgrindan**.

**gripe**, m., *clutch, grip*: as. **gripe** 187, 217, 951.

**grom**, *see* **gram**.

**grund**, m. 1. *deep, ocean*: ns. 393, 425. — 2. *abyss*: ns. 1590; as. 1595. — 3. *ground, earth*: ds. **grunde** 1528; as. **grund** 331, 747, 1600; dp. **grundum** 640; ap. **grundas** 776.

**grundwæg**, m., *earth*: ds. **grundwæge** 582.

**grynsmið**, m., *evil-doer*: np. **grynsmiðas** 917.

**gryrehwīl**, f., *period of terror*: ds. **gryrehwīle** 468.

**gryrelic**, adj., *terrible*: nsn. 1551.

**guma**, m., *man*: ns. 1117; np. **guman** 1516; gp. **gumena** 20, 61, 575, 582, 986, 1152, 1615.

**gumcyst**, f., *virtue, right practice*: ip. **gumcystum** 1606.

1. 951; ds. **gūðe**

4; gp. **gūða**

**gūðfreca**, m., *warrior*: gs. gūðfreca 1333.

**gūðgelāca**, m., *warrior*: np. gūðgelācan 1600.

**gūðgeðingu**, npl., *battle, contest*: ap. guðgeðingu 1022, guðgeþingo 1043.

**gūðgewinn**, n., *battle*: ns. 217.

**gūðhwæt**, adj., *bold in battle*: nsm. AP. 57.

**gūðplega**, m., *battle*: ds. gūðplegan 1369, AP. 22.

**gūðræs**, m., *rush of battle*: ns. 1531.

**gūðrinc**, m., *warrior*: np. gūðrincas 155, 392.

**gūðsearu**, n., *war armor*: np. gūðsearo 127.

**gūðweorc**, n., *war-deed*: gp. guðweorca 1066.

**gyldan**, *see ongyldan*.

**gylp**, m., *boast*: as. 1333.

**gyrn**, n., *sorrow, affliction*: ds. gyrne 1150, 1585.

**gyrran**, 3, *sound, creak*: pret. 3 pl. gurron 374.

**gyrwan**, W1, *get ready, prepare*: inf. 795, 1698, gerwan 1634.

**gystrandæge**, adv., *yesterday*: 852.

**gýt**, *see gīt*; nū, ðā gýt.

## H

**habban**, W3, *have*: 1 sg. hæbbe 897; 2 sg. hafast 357, 507, 1320; 3 sg. hafað AP. 73; 1 pl. habbað 687; 2 pl. 296; pret. 2 sg. hæfdes 530; pret. 3 sg. hæfde 534, 787, 844, 856, 987, 990, 1060, 1063, 1169, 1241; pret. 3 pl. hæfdon 134, 149, 785, 1131; opt. pres. 2 sg. hæbbe 1521; opt. pres. 3 sg. 1164; opt. pres. 3 pl. habban 976; imper. 2 sg. hafa 223; imper. 2 pl. habbað 1358. *See behabban, nabban.*

**hæbbend**, *see searohæbbend*.

**Hābrahām**, *see Ābrahām*.

**hād**, m., *nature, form*: ds. hāde AP. 27; as. hād 912. *See apostol-, geoguð-hād.*

**hādor**, adj., *bright*: nsm. 838; nsn. 1456, hādre 89.

**hæft**, m. 1. *captivity*: ds. hæfte 1399 1470. — 2. *captive*: np. hæftas 107

**hæftan**, *see gehæftan*.

**hæftling**, m., *captive*: ns. 1342.

**haga**, *see ānhaga*.

**hægelscūr**, m., *hail-storm*: ip. hægelscūrum 1257.

**hāl**, adj. 1. *healthy, well*: nsm. 914.

— 2. *whole, uninjured, sound*: nsm. 1470; gsm. hāles 1467. *See wanhāl.*

**hæle**, m., *hero*: ns. 1002; as. 144.

**hælend**, m., *Savior*: g. hælendes 574, 735; a. hælend 1031; v. 541, 1407.

**hæleð**, m., *hero, man*: ns. 919, 1556; as. 1005, 1273; vs. 484, 624; np. 50, 362, 561, 612, 1024, 1054, hæleþ 38; gp. hæleða 21, 200, 396, 494, 545, 567, 692, 885, 907, 1197, 1258, 1269, 1463; dp. hæleðum 668; ap. hæleð 2, 883, 996, 1607.

**hālgian**, *see gehālgian*.

**hālig**, adj., *holy, the holy one, saint*: nsm. 14, 91, 461, 542, 1010, 1144, 1252, hāлга 118, 168, 225, 346, 359, 382, 977, 996, 1029, 1045, 1253, 1307, 1395, 1607, 1687, AP. 60; nsf. hālig 243; nsn. 89, 1018; gsm. hāliges 531, 654, 709, 819, 893, 1000, 1389, 1478, 1586, 1621, hālgan 1238; dsm. 48, 467, 1222, 1315, 1683, AP. 9; asm. hāligne 144, 481, 1010, 1614, hālgan 831, 1171, 1566, AP. 90; asf. hālige 1520; asn. hālig 1418, AP. 53; isf. hālgan 56, 537, 873, 1399, 1456; npm. hālige 885; gp. hāligra 725; dp. hālgum 1720; apm. hālige 875; apf. AP. 63; ip. hālgum 328, 723, 1054, hālegum 104. *See heofonhālig.*

**hælo**, f., *health*: as. 95.

**hām**, m., *home*: gs. hāmes AP. 118; hām 1683; as. 227, 978, AP. 92; ginn, āma 104.

331. , *hammer*: gp. hamera 1077.

**hāmsittend**, m., *one dwelling at home*:  
np. hāmsittende 686.

**hand**, f., *hand*: ns. 9, 17, 412; as.  
941, 1417, AP. 60; ap. handa 48,  
1222.

**handgewinn**, n., *struggle, conflict*: ds.  
handgewinne 186.

**handhrine**, m., *touch of the hand*: as.  
1000.

**handmægen**, n., *strength of the hands*:  
as. 725.

**hār**, adj., *hoary, gray*: asm. hārne 841; \*  
npm. hāre 1258.

**hærn**, f., *wave, sea*: ns. 531.

**hæs**, f., *command*: as. 1520, 1586.

**hāt**, adj., *hot*: nsm. 1709; asm. hātne  
1187; ism. hātan 1542; isn. 1241,  
1277. *See brandhāt.*

**hata**, *see scyldhata.*

**hātan**, R. 1. *bid, command*: 3 sg.  
hāteð 1505; pret. 1 sg. hēt 931; pret.  
3 sg. hēt 330, 587, 792, 795, 807, 822,  
1145, 1575, 1623, 1632, AP. 68, heht  
365, 1466, AP. 45; pret. 3 pl. hēton  
1229, 1272, 1390. — 2. *name*: pp.  
hāten 686. *See gehātan.*

**hæðen**, adj., *heathen*: nsm. AP. 46; gsm.  
hæðnes 1238; dsf. hæðenan 1491;  
dsn. hæðenum 1144; asf. hæðene  
AP. 60, hæðenan 111; np. hæðene  
1002, 1124, hæðne 126, 1070; gp.  
hæðenra 186, 218, 957, 992, 1032,  
1389.

**hæðengild**, n., *idol, idolatry*: dp. hæ-  
ðengildum 1102; ap. hæðengild AP.  
47.

**hē**, pron., *he*: nsm. 51, 53, 54, etc.; nsn.  
hit 695, 765, 1323, 1393, 1563; gsmn.  
his 50, 60, 94, 164, etc.; dsmn. him  
45, 57, 118, 145, etc.; asm. hine 502,  
551, 820, 943, 1143, 1326, 1335, 1564,  
1698, AP. 97; asf. hīe 980, 1154; asn.  
hit 149, 210, 1231, 1514; np. hīe 5, 23,  
26, 31, etc.; gp. hira 3, 11, 25, 140,  
etc.; dp. him 5, 17, 27, 33, etc.; ap.  
hīe 254, 464, 613, 795, etc.

**hēafod**, n., *head*: gs. hēafdes 50; ds.  
hēafde 1423, 1472, AP. 46.

**hēafodgimm**, m., *eye*: ap. hēafodgim-  
mas 31.

**hēafodmāga**, m., *near kinsman*: as.  
hēafodmāgan 942.

**heafola**, m., *head*: as. heafolan 1142.

**hēah**, adj., *high*: nsn. 668; isn. hēa  
274.

**hēahcynig**, m., *great king, Lord*: ns. 6.

**hēahengel**, m., *archangel*: np. hēaheng-  
las 885.

**hēahfæder**, m., *patriarch*: gp. hēah-  
fædera 791; ap. hēahfæderas 875.

**hēahgestrēon**, n., *great treasure*: ip.  
hēahgestrēonum 362.

**hēahræced**, n., *great hall*: as. 708.

**hēahstefn**, adj., *high-prowed or*  
*-stemmed*: nsm. 266.

**healdan**, R, *hold, preserve, keep*: 1 sg.  
healde 336, 915, 1432; 3 pl. healdap  
176; pret. 3 pl. hēoldon 1514. *See*  
*gehealdan.*

**healdend**, m., *keeper, ruler*: ns. 225.

**healf**, f., *side*: ds. healfe 1063; ap. 715.

**heals**, *see fāmigheals.*

**healt**, adj., *lame*: dp. healtum 578.

**hēan**, adj., *abject, wretched*: nsm. 891,  
1087, 1367, 1557; asm. hēanne 1191.

**hēap**, m., *throng, company*: ns. 870;  
ds. hēape AP. 9; as. hēap AP. 90; is.  
hēape 696; ip. hēapum 126.

**heard**, adj. 1. *bold, resolute*: nsm. 233,  
839, 982, 1399. — 2. *grievous, severe*:  
nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562; asn. 1092; gp.  
heardra 1445, 1470, 1491; ip. heardum  
952, 1257; comp. asm. heardran 1402.  
— 3. *hard*: asm. heardne 739. *See*  
*ecg-, ellen-, hilde-, scūr-, ðroht-*  
*heard.*

**hearde**, adv., *steer*

**heardlic**, adj.,  
1551.

**hearm**, m., *har*  
hearm 1071  
gp. hearma

- hearmcwide**, m., *calumny, blasphemy*: as. 79, 561.
- hearmlēoð**, n., *complaint, song of grief*: as. 1127, 1342.
- hearmloca**, m., *prison*: ds. hearmlocan 95, 1029.
- heaðolīðende**, m., *sailor*: dp. heaðolīðendum 426.
- heaðowælm**, m., *fierce billow*: is. heaðowælm 1542.
- hebban**, 6. 1. *raise*: pp. hæfen 1155. — 2. *celebrate*: pp. hæfen 1643. See **āhebban**.
- hēgan**, see **gehēgan**.
- hēgende**, see **mæðelhēgende**.
- hēhðu**, f., *height, glory*: ds. hēhðo 873, 998, 1144, AP. 118.
- helan**, 4, *conceal*: opt. 3 sg. hele 1164. See **behelan**.
- hell**, f., *hell*: gs. helle 1052, 1298, 1342, 1703; ds. 1187.
- hellcræft**, m., *hellish art*: ip. hellcræftum 1102.
- hellehinca**, m., *hell-limper, devil*: ns. 1171.
- hellfūs**, adj., *bound for hell*: npm. hellfūse 50.
- helltræf**, n., *heathen temple*: dp. helltrafum 1691.
- helm**, m. 1. *helmet*: as. 10. — 2. *guardian*: ns. 118, 277, 623, 655. See **nihthelm**.
- helma**, m., *helm, rudder*: ds. helman 396.
- helmian**, W2, *conceal, cover*: pret. 3 sg. helmade 1305.
- helmweard**, m., *pilot*: ds. helmwearde 359.
- help**, f., *help*: ns. 907; gs. helpe 1031, 1566, AP. 90; ds. 1605; as. 91, 426, 1614.
- hengest**, see **brim-**, **sāhengest**.
- hēnðu**, f., *humiliation*: dp. hēnðum 117, 1467.
- hēofan**, 2, *lament*: ptc. nsm. hēofende 1557.
- heofon**, m., *heaven*: ns. 1438; gs. heofonas 1501; as. heofon 748, hefon 328; gp. heofona 6, 192, 1505, 1683; dp. heofonum 1452, heofenum 89, 168, 195; ap. heofonas 977. See **ūpheofon**.
- heofoncandel**, f., *sun*: ns. 243.
- heofoncyning**, m., *heavenly king*: gs. heofoncyninges 92, 723, 998, 1381; ds. heofoncyninge 821.
- heofonhālig**, adj., *of celestial holiness*: nsm. 728.
- heofonhwealf**, f., *vault of heaven*: ds. heofonhwealfe 545, 1402.
- heofonlēoht**, n., *heavenly light*: ds. heofonlēohte 974.
- heofonlēoma**, m., *heavenly radiance*: ns. 838.
- heofonlic**, adj., *heavenly*: asm. heofonlicne 389.
- heofonrīce**, n., *kingdom of heaven*: gs. heofonrīces 52, 56, 1052.
- heofontorht**, adj., *heavenly bright*: nsm. 1269; nsn. 1018.
- heofonðrymm**, m., *heavenly glory*: ds. heofonþrymme 481, 1720.
- heolfor**, n., *blood, gore*: is. heolfre 1241, 1277.
- heolstor**, m., *darkness*: ds. heolstre 243; as. heolstor 1191.
- heolstorloca**, m., *dark place, prison*: d. or as. heolstorlocan 144, 1005.
- heolstorscuwa**, m., *darkness*: d. or as. heolstorscuwan 1253.
- heonan**, adv., *hence*: AP. 109, heonon 891.
- hēore**, see **unhēore**.
- heorodrēorig**, adj., *blood-stained*: npm. heorodrēorige 1083; apm. 996.
- heorogrædig**, adj., *bloodthirsty*: npm. heorogrædige 38; gpm. heorugrædigra 79.
- heorogrimm**, adj., *warlike*: npm. heorogrimme 31.
- heorte**, f., *heart*: ds. heortan 52, 1252, 1709; as. 36, 1213. See **blīð-**, **cald-**, **mildheort**.

- heorudolg**, n., *sword-wound*: ip. heorudolgum 942.
- heorusweng**, m., *sword-stroke*: ip. heoruswengum 952.
- hēr**, adv., *here, hither*: 724, 1173, 1562, AP. 96.
- herdan**, W1, *confirm, strengthen*: imper. 2 sg. herd 1213.
- here**, m., *host, army, throng*: gs. heriges 1106, 1156, 1202, 1238, AP. 21; ds. herige 1127, 1198; as. here 1124, 1187; np. herigeas 652, 1067; gp. herigea 1501.
- herefeld**, m., *battle-field*: ds. herefeldas 10, 18.
- heremægen**, n., *army, multitude*: ds. heremægene 586, 728, 1298, 1650.
- herestræt**, f., *army-road*: ds. herestræte 831; np. herestræta 200.
- heretēam**, m., *plunder, devastation?*: ns. 1551.
- herian**, W1, *praise, glorify*: 3 pl. herigað 722; pret. 3 sg. herede 52, 819, 998, 1267, 1455; pret. 3 pl. heredon 873; ptc. npm. herigende 657.
- herig**, m., *heathen temple*: ap. herigeas 1687.
- herigweard**, m., *guardian of the temple*: np. herigwardas 1124.
- herm**, see **hearm**.
- Hērōdes**, pr. n., *Herod*: ns. 1324; ds. Hērōde AP. 36.
- hete**, m., *hate*: ds. 944. See **bill-**, **lēod-**, **nīð-**, **wæpenhete**.
- hetegrimm**, adj., *fierce, cruel*: nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562.
- heterōf**, adj., *hostile*: gp. heterōfra 1420.
- hettend**, m., *enemy*: np. 31.
- hider**, adv., *hither*: 207, 1604, hyder 1024.
- hidercyme**, m., *coming, arrival*: as. 1316.
- hīg**, n., *hay*: ns. 38.
- hige**, see **hyge**.
- higeblið**, adj., *blithe of mind*: asf. h bliðe 1691.
- higerōf**, adj., *bold of mind*: nsm. 233; asm. higerōfne 1005; npm. higerōfe 1054.
- hiht**, see **hyht**.
- hild**, f., *battle, war*: ns. 1420; ds. hilde 412; gp. hilda 1491.
- hildbedd**, n., *death-bed*: ns. 1092.
- hildecorðor**, n., *war-troop*: is. hildecorðre AP. 41.
- hildedēor**, adj., *bold in battle*: ns. 1002.
- hildeheard**, adj., *brave in battle*: nsm. AP. 21.
- hildeðrymm**, m., *valor in battle*: ds. hildeþrymme 1032.
- hildewōma**, m., *sound of battle*: as. hildewōman 218.
- hildfreca**, m., *warrior*: np. hildfreca 126, 1070.
- hildfrom**, adj., *brave in battle*: npm. hildfrome 1202.
- hildlata**, m., *one slow in battle, coward*: ns. 233.
- hildstapa**, m., *warrior*: np. hildstapan 1258.
- hinca**, see **hellehinca**.
- hīw**, n., *appearance, countenance*: ns. 725; as. 1169.
- hlādan**, see **gehlādan**.
- hlāf**, m., *bread*: gs. hlāfes 21, 312; as. hlāf. 389; dp. hlāfum 590.
- hlāford**, m., *lord*: ds. hlāforde 412.
- hlāfordlēas**, adj., *without a lord*: npm. hlāfordlēase 405.
- hleahtor**, m., *laughter*: is. hleahtre 1703.
- hlēapan**, see **āhlēapan**.
- hlēo**, n. 1. *cover, protection*: ds. 111, 567; as. 832. — 2. *protector*: ns. 896, 1450; vs. 506, 1672.
- hlēolēas**, adj., *cheerless*: asm. hlēolēasan 131.
- hlēotan**, 2. 1. *receive, obtain*: 2 sg. hlēotest 480. — 2. *cast lots*: pret. 3 pl. 1 1102.
- talk**: ns. 739, 1551; **wordhlēoðor**.

- hlēoðorcwide**, m., *speaking, words*: as. 893; dp. hlēoðorcwidum 1621; ip. 819.
- hlēoðrian**, W2, *speak, talk*: pret. 3 sg. hlēoðrode 461, hlēoðrade 537, 1360, hlōðrode 1430; pret. 3 pl. hlēoðrodon 692.
- hlīdan**, *see on-, tōhlīdan*.
- hliehhan**, *see āhliehhan*.
- hlīfian**, W2, *tower, stand high*: pret. 3 pl. hlīfodon 841.
- hlinduru**, f., *prison-door*: ds. hlindura 993.
- hlinræced**, n., *prison*: as. 1463.
- hlinscuwa**, m., *darkness of prison*: as. hlinscuwan 1071.
- hlið**, n., *slope, hill*: np. hleoðu 841. *See sand-, stānhlið*.
- hlosnian**, W2, *listen, hearken*: pret. 3 sg. hlosnode 761.
- hlōð**, f., *troop, company*: ns. 42, 1389, 1543; as. 992.
- hlūd**, adj., *loud*: nsm. 1156; nsf. 739; isf. hlūdan 1360.
- hlūtter**, adj., *bright, pure*: asm. hlūtterne 312; asf. hlüttre 1063.
- hlymman**, 3, *resound*: 3 sg. hlymmeð 392.
- hlynnan**, W1, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. hlynede 238.
- hlynsian**, W2, *resound*: pret. 3 pl. hlynsodon 1545.
- hlyst**, m., *heed, attention*: as. 1586.
- hlýt**, m., *lot, fate*: ns. AP. 9; as. 6, 14.
- hnāg**, adj., *wretched, miserable*: comp. gsf. hnāgran 1598.
- hnāegan**, W1, *humble*: opt. pres. 3 pl. hnāegen 1329. *See gehnāegan*.
- hnītan**, 1, *clash*: pret. 3 pl. hneotan 4.
- hof**, n., *house*: ds. hofe 1307; ap. hofu 838. *See ceaster-, gnornhof*.
- hold**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 550; asf. holde 1164. *See ðeodenhold*.
- holdlice**, adv., *faithfully*: 1639.
- holm**, m., *ocean*: as. 429; gp. holma 195. *See sæholm*.
- holmðracu**, f., *tossing sea*: ns. holmþracu 467.
- holmweg**, m., *sea-way*: ds. holmwege 382.
- homa**, *see flæsc-, lichoma*.
- hōn**, *see āhōn*.
- hord**, *see feorh-, mōd-, wordhord*.
- hordgestrēon**, n., *treasure*: dp. hordgestrēonum 1114.
- hordloca**, m., *treasure-place*: as. 671.
- hornfisc**, m., *garfish, swordfish?*: ns. 370.
- horngēap**, adj., *wide-gabled*: nsn. 668.
- hornsæl**, n., *gabled hall*: ap. hornsalu 1158.
- hornscip**, n., *beaked ship*: is. hornscipe 274.
- hospword**, n., *insulting word*: ap. 1315.
- hrā**, n., *corpse*: ns. 1031, 1277; as. 952; np. 791.
- hrædlīce**, adv., *quickly*: 192, 936, 1505.
- hrægl**, n., *garment*: ds. hrægle 1471.
- hranrād**, f., *whale-road, ocean*: ds. hranrāde 266, 634, hronrāde 821.
- hraðe**, adv., *quickly*: 341, 947, 982, 1106, 1111, hræðe 1221, 1272, 1520, 1577.
- hrēmig**, adj., *exultant*: nsm. 1699; npm. hrēmige 864.
- hrēodan**, *see gehrēodan*.
- hrēof**, adj., *leprous*: dp. hrēofum 578.
- hrēoh**, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsf. 467; nsn. 1542; apm. hrēo 748.
- hrēosan**, 2, *fall, perish*: 3 pl. hrēosaþ 1438; pret. 3 pl. hruron 1600. *See tōhrēosan*.
- hrēoða**, *see bordhrēoða*.
- hrēow**, *see rēow*.
- hrēran**, W1, *move, stir*: ptc. dpf. hrērendum 491. *See onhrēran*.
- hreðor**, m., *breast, heart*: ns. 1018; ds. hreðre 36, 69, 817, 893.
- hrif**, n., *womb*: as. AP. 29.
- hrīm**, m., *rime, hoar-frost*: ns. 1257.

*ouch, assail*: pp. hrinen 942.  
*landhrine.*

*ring, sound*: ns. 1278.

*sinchroden.*

*ee hranrād.*

*shout*: pret. 3 pl. hrēopon

*, comfort, consolation*: ds.

1, 567, AP. 95; gp. hrōðra

*fall, decay*: ds. 229.

*2, shake, clatter*: pret. 3 pl.  
 127.

*rw*: 155, 163, 190, 307, 419,  
 558, 573, 575, 596, 639, 812,  
 1355 (weald hū), 1490, AP. 3.  
*how, lo*: 63, AP. 91.

*lg, num., hundred*: 1035.

*, hunger*: gs. hungres 1087;  
 : 1114, 1158.

*verily, indeed*: 549, AP. 42.

*nhūs.*

*n., scornful word*: is. husc-  
 9.

*, who*; neut., *what, of what*  
 1. 381, 797, 905, AP. 98, 106;  
 t 262, 734, 1066, 1343; gsn.  
 ; asn. hwæt 342, 1316.

*wā.*

*wha.* gs. wæles 274.

*, m., ocean*: ns. 370.

conj. 1. *until*: 400. — 2.  
 6.

*dv., whence*: 256, 258, 683.

*, where*: 799, 1317, AP. 111.

*, see fyrd-, gūðhwæt.*

*, why, how*: 629, 1413.

*rj., what, lo*: 1, 676, 1185,  
 13, 1376, 1406, 1478, 1508,  
 63.

conj., *whether*: 129, 604.

*væðer.*

*mj., however, yet*: 51, 1487,  
 504.

*heofonh-*

*w.*

*hwelan*, *roar, resound*: 3 sg. hwileð  
 495.

*hweorfan*, 3, *turn, go*: 1 pl. hweorfað  
 405; pret. 3 pl. hweorfon 640, hweor-  
 fan 1050; inf. 117, 1691. *See ā-, be-,*  
*gehweorfan.*

*hwettan*, W1, *whet, incite*: 3 sg. hweteð  
 286. *See āhwettan.*

*hwider*, adv., *whither*: 405.

*hwīl*, f., *while, time*: gs. hwhīle 113;  
 as. 131, 1478. *See gryrehwīl.*

*hwīlen*, *see unwhīlen.*

*hwīlum*, adv., *at times*: 443, 514.

*hwylc*, pron., *which, who*: nsm. 411,  
 1372; nsn. 1228; asm. hwylcne 132,  
 785, 1100. *See æg-, gehwylc.*

*hycgan*, W3, *think*: 2 pl. hycgað 1612;  
 pret. 2 sg. hogodest 1316; pret. 3 sg.  
 hogode 622. *See for-, gehycgan.*

*hycgende*, *see stið-, wīðerhycgende.*

*hȳdig*, *see gram-, wīðerhȳdig.*

*hygd*, *see ge-, oferhygd.*

*hyge*, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 36, 281, 378,  
 1664, 1709, hige 534, 1252, AP. 53;  
 as. hyge AP. 68, hige 971, 1213, 1654.  
*hygeblind*, adj., *spiritually blind*: nsm.  
 AP. 46.

*hygegeðomor*, adj., *sad of mind*: nsm.  
 1087, 1557.

*hygeðanc*, m., *thought*: gs. hygeþances  
 817.

*hygeþancol*, adj., *thoughtful*: nsm. 341.

*hyht*, m. 1. *hope, expectation*: ns. 1010,  
 1114, hiht 287; as. hyht 1052. — 2.  
*joy*: ds. hyhte 239, 637, 874, as. hyht  
 481; gp. hihta AP. 118.

*hyhtlic*, adj., *joyful*: sup. nsm. hyhtli-  
 cost 104.

*hyld*, *see gehyld.*

*hyldan*, W1, *bend, bow*: pret. 3 pl. hyl-  
 don 1027.

*hyldu*, f., *kindness, favor*: as. hyldo  
 389.

*hylman*, *see forhylman.*

*hȳa*, adj., *ready to die*: np. hȳfūse



**hýran**, W1. 1. *hear, listen to*: pret. 1 sg. hýrde 360; pret. 3 sg. hērde 1176; pret. 1 pl. hýrde wē AP. 70; opt. pres. 1 pl. hýran 1167. — 2. *obey, follow*: 2 pl. hýrað 679; pret. 3 pl. hýrdon 612; opt. pres. 1 pl. hýran 1606; inf. 1639, AP. 47. *See gehýran.*

**hyrcnian**, W2, *listen to*: pret. 3 pl. hyrcnodon 654.

**hyrdan**, *see onhyrdan.*

**hyrde**, m., *guard*: ns. 807; np. hyrdas 1083; ap. 993, 1077.

**hyrstan**, *see gehyrstan.*

**hyse**, m., *man, youth*: ds. hysse 550; vs. 595, 811.

**hysebeorðor**, m., *young man*: ds. hysebeorðre 1142.

**hyspan**, W1, *scorn, mock*: inf. 671. [hosp.]

**hýðig**, *see unhýðig.*

## I

**Iacōh** pr. n., *Jacob, James*: ns. 691, AP. 35, 70; ds. Iōcolu 754; as. Iācōb 794.

**īc**, pron., *I*: ns. 64, 72, 77, 81, etc.; for genitive, *see mīn*; ds. mē 63, 76, 198, 200, etc.; as. mē 71, 85, 389, 905, etc. np. wē 1, 264, 268, 292, etc.; for genitive, *see ūser*; dp. ūs 276, 288, 292, 342, 514, 1420, 1566, 1567; ap. 265, 269, 273, 330, 434, 596, 852, 862, 1419, 1561, ūsic 286.

**īcan**, W1, *increase*: 2 sg. īcest 1190; inf. ēcan 1384.

**īdel**, adj., *vain*: apm. īdle AP. 84.

**īdes**, f., *woman*: np. idesa 1638.

**Ierūsālēm**, pr. n., *Jerusalem*: ds. AP. 70.

**īgland**, n., *island*: as. 15.

**īlea**, pron., *same*: nsm. 751; asf. ilcan 911.

**in**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *in, on, within, amid, among, at, by* (w. dat.): 51, 52, 69, 78, 121, 163, 169, 231, 281, 304, 356, 562, 573, 597, 707, 719, 854, 868, 927, 948(2), 973, 976, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1043, 1082, 1155, 1187, 1264,

1299, 1309, 1377, 1467, 1482, 1491, 1649, 1672, 1685, 1720, AP. 16, 30, 40, 45, 70, 118. — 2. *into, to, towards* (w. acc.): 41, 111, 117, 217, 349, 656, 911, 929, 939, 951, 982, 1091, 1273, 1308, 1332, 1380, 1463, 1594, 1618, 1619, 1686, 1703.

**in**, adv., *in, inside*: 362, 990, 1001, 1331, 1588, inn 1058.

**Indēas**, pr. n., *India*: gp. Indēa AP. 51; dp. Indēum AP. 43.

**inflēde**, adj., *full of water*: asf. 1504.

**ingeþanc**, mn., *thought, reason*: as. 35.

**innan**, prep. w. dat., *in, within*: 1235, 1547.

**innan**, adv., *within*: 1018, 1241.

**innanweard**, adv., *within*: 647.

**inne**, adv., *within*: 1542.

**inwit**, n., *guile, deceit*: as. 610.

**inwitðanc**, m., *evil thought*: as. 670; ip. inwidþancum 559.

**inwitwrāsen**, f., *evil chain*: as. inwitwrāsne 63; ip. inwitwrāsnum 946.

**Iōhannes**, pr. n., *John*: ds. Iōhanne AP. 23.

**Iōsēph**, pr. n., *Joseph*: ns. 688; gs. Iōsēphes 691.

**Iosua**, pr. n., *Joshua*: ns. Iosua 1516.

**īren**, n., *sword*: as. 1181.

**īrnan**, *see onīrnan.*

**Irtācus**, pr. n., *Irtacus*: ns. AP. 68.

**īs**, n., *ice*: ns. 1261.

**Īsaac**, pr. n., *Isaac*: ds. Īsāce 753; as. Īsaac 793.

**Israhēl**, pr. n., *Israelite*: gp. Israhēla 880; dp. Israhēlum 165.

**īu**, adv., *once, long ago, formerly*: 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1386.

**Iūdēas**, pr. n., *Jews*: gp. Iūdēa 166, 560, 1325; dp. Iūdēum 12, 966, 1408, AP. 35.

## L

**L** = *rune* † AP. 102; for meaning, *see* *Notes*.

**lāc**, f., *gift, offering*: as. 1111. *See* *beadu-*, *gelāc*.

**-lāca, -lāca**, *see* **æglāca, gūðgelaca**.  
**lācan**, R, *toss, move rapidly*: 3 pl.  
 lācað 253; ptc. nsm. lācende 437.  
*See* **forlācan**.

**lācende**, *see* **faroðlācende**.

**lād**, f., *way, journey*: ns. 423; ds. lāde  
 276, AP. 92. *See* **ēa-**, **ge-**, **lago-**,  
**sā-**, **yōlād**.

**lāedan**, W1, *lead, conduct*: pret. 3 pl.  
 lāeddon 1459, lāeddan 1249; ptc. nsm.  
 lāedende 1477; pp. lāeded 1307; inf.  
 174, 337, 777, 1044, 1229, 1272, 1390,  
 1706. *See* **gelāedan**.

**lāf**, *leaving, remnant*: ds. lāfe 1081.  
*See* **yōlāf**.

**lagoflōd**, m., *water-flood, ocean*: ap.  
 lagoflōdas 244.

**lagolād**, f., *sea-way, ocean*: as. lāgo-  
 lāde 314.

**lāgu**, m., *sea, flood*: ns. 437, AP. 102  
 (rune 1).

**lagufæsten**, n., *sea*: as. 398, 825.

**lagustrēam**, m., *ocean*: as. 423.

**lāela**, m., *bruise, wound*: as. lāelan 1443.

**land**, n. 1. *land, dry land*: ns. 423; ds.  
 lande 398; as. land 378, 404, 827. —  
 2. *country, province*: ns. AP. 66; ds.  
 lande 294, 1645, 1694; as. 268, 698,  
 1321, AP. 76; gp. landa 408, 935,  
 961. — 3. *ground, earth*: ds. lande  
 1426; np. land 1259. — 4. *land, prop-  
 erty, estate*: gs. landes 303. *See* **ēa-**,  
**īg-**, **mearc-**, **wīdland**.

**landrest**, f., *tomb*: as. landreste 781.

**landscearu**, f., (*portion of*) *land*: ds.  
 landsceare 501, 1229.

**lāene**, adj., *transitory, fleeting*: npf.  
 lāene AP. 102; apn. lāenan AP. 83.

**lang**, adj. 1. *long*: nsm. 420; asf. lange  
 790. — 2. *eternal*: asm. langne AP.  
 92. *See* **ge-**, **niht-**, **ondlang**.

**lange**, adv., *long, a long time*: 314, 579,  
 1363; comp. leng 80, 800, 1042, 1364,  
 1467, 1660.

**langsum**, adj., *long, everlasting*: nsf.  
 1482; comp. asn. langsumre AP. 20.

**lār**, f. 1. *instruction, wisdom, counsel*:  
 ds. lāre 654; as. 597, 709, 819, 1164,  
 1424, 1653, 1692, AP. 67; gp. lārna  
 482; dp. lārum 679, 813, 1290; ip.  
 141, 611, 777. — 2. *narration, story*:  
 as. lāre 1478.

**lāeran**, W1, *instruct, teach*: 2 sg. lāerest  
 1185; pret. 3 sg. lārde 170, 420, 462,  
 1195, 1297, 1680, AP. 31. *See* **for-**,  
**gelāeran**.

**lārewide**, m., *doctrine, teaching*: as. 674.

**lārēow**, m., *teacher*: ns. 1321, 1466;  
 as. 404, 1707.

**lārsmið**, m., *teacher*: np. lārsmeoðas  
 1220.

**lās**, *see* **ðy-lās**.

**lāst**, m., *track, trace (on last, laste,  
 behind)*: ds. laste 1596, AP. 94; as.  
 last 1446. *See* **wīdlast**.

**lāestan**, W1, *follow, perform*: pret. 3 pl.  
 lāeston 674, 1653; inf. 1424. *See*  
**gelāestan**.

**læt**, adj., *slow, behindhand*: nsm. AP.  
 33; nsf. latu 1210; npm. late 46.

**lata**, *see* **hildlata**.

**lāetan**, R. 1. *let, allow*: pret. 3 pl. lēton  
 1099; imper. 2 sg. lāet 397, 957, 960,  
 1293, 1503; imper. 2 pl. lāetað 1180,  
 1330. — 2. *leave, leave behind*: pret.  
 3 pl. lēton 831; inf. 781, AP. 94.  
*See* **ā-**, **ānfor-**, **forlāetan**.

**latu**, *see* **wordlatu**.

**lāð**, n., *injury, harm*: gs. lāðes 1443;  
 ds. lāðe 1474; as. lāð 1347.

**lāð**, adj. 1. *hateful, despised*: asm. lāðne  
 1249; npm. lāðe 408. — 2. *hostile*:  
 gpm. lāðra 80, 944.

**lāðspell**, n., *evil tidings*: as. or p. 1079.

**laðu**, *see* **wordlaðu**.

**-lēafa**, *see* **gelēafa**.

**leahtor**, m. 1. *slander*: ip. leahtrum  
 1295. — 2. *wound, disease*: ip. leh-  
 trum 1216.

**lēan**, n., *reward*: ns. 948; ds. lēane  
 AP. 62, 74; as. lēan 387, AP. 120.  
*See* **ed-**, **sigelēan**.

- lēas**, adj. 1. *deprived of, lacking* (w. gen.): nsm. 1367, 1705. — 2. *false*: apn. lēasan AP. 49. See **ār-**, **dōm-**, **ende-**, **ēðel-**, **freoðo-**, **hlāford-**, **hlēo-**, **wær-**, **wlitelēas**.  
**-lēast**, see **metelēast**.  
**lecgan**, see **beleggan**.  
**lēg**, see **līg**.  
**-lege**, see **orlege**.  
**leng**, see **lange**.  
**-lenge**, see **gelenge**.  
**lēode**, fpl., *men, people, nation*: n. 1249; g. lēoda 268, 663, 1227, 1259, 1363, 1390, 1706; d. lēodum 1649; a. 170, 1093, 1321, 1680, AP. 31.  
**lēodfruma**, m., *leader of the people*: ns. 1660; as. lēodfruman 989.  
**lēodhete**, m., *hostility*: ns. 1138; ds. 112, 1149.  
**lēodmearc**, f., *boundary, country*: as. lēodmearce 286, 777.  
**lēodriht**, n., *law*: ds. lēodrihte 679.  
**lēodsceaða**, m., *public enemy*: gp. lēodsceaðena 80.  
**lēof**, adj., *dear, beloved*: nsm. 1251, 1579; asm. lēofne 404, 825, 944, 989, 1707; npm. lēofe 1017, AP. 6; comp. nsm. lēofra AP. 49, nsn. lēofre 1428; sup. nsm. lēofast AP. 26, nsn. lēofost 935; vsm. lēofost 575, 1352, lēofesta 288, 307, 595, 629, 811, 1431.  
**lēoflic**, adj., *beloved*: nsm. 1446.  
**leofon**, f., *sustenance*: ds. leofne 1123.  
**lēofwende**, adj., *gracious*: dpf. lēofwendum 1290.  
**lēogan**, see **gelēogan**.  
**lēoht**, n., *light*: ns. 124, 1017, 1611; as. 77, AP. 20, 61. See **heofonlēoht**.  
**lēoht**, adj., *light, joyful*: nsm. 1251; gsm. lēohtes AP. 66.  
**lēohtfruma**, m., *creator of light*: ns. 387; vs. 1413.  
**leoma**, see **heofonleoma**.  
**lēoran**, W1, *go, depart*: pret. 3 sg. lēorde 124; pret. 3 pl. lēordan 1042.  
**leornung**, f., *study*: ns. 1482.  
**lēosan**, see **belēosan**.  
**leoð**, see **lið**.  
**lēoð**, see **fūs-**, **hearmlēoð**.  
**lēoðgidding**, f., *song, poem*: is. lēoðgiddinga 1479; gp. AP. 97.  
**leoðolic**, adj., *corporal*: nsm. 1628.  
**leoðubend**, mf., *bond, fetter*: dp. leoðubendum 100, 164, 1373, leoðobendum 1033, 1564.  
**lēoðword**, n., *word in a poem*: gp. lēoðworda 1488.  
**lettan**, see **gelettan**.  
**libban**, W3, *live*: 3 sg. leofað 1288, lyfað 541; pret. 3 pl. lifdon 129.  
**lic**, n., *body*: ns. 1238, 1404; gs. lices 229, 1421, 1443, 1474, AP. 102; ds. lice 1477, AP. 83; as. lic 151, AP. 94.  
**licgan**, 5, *lie*: 3 sg. ligeð AP. 104; 3 pl. licgað 1426; pret. 3 pl. lāgon 1234, 1422, lāgan 1083. See **ā-**, **gellicgan**.  
**lichoma**, m., *body*: as. lichoman 1216, 1466; np. 790.  
**licnes**, see **ānlicnes**.  
**lid**, n., *ship*: gs. lides 403, 1707; as. lid 398. See **ȳld**.  
**lida**, see **sælida**.  
**lidweard**, m., *sailor, boat-guard*: ap. lidweardas 244.  
**lidwērig**, adj., *weary of seafaring*: dp. lidwērigum 482.  
**liehtan**, see **onliehtan**.  
**lif**, n., *life*: ns. AP. 83; gs. lifes 170, 229, 387, 518, 822, 1111, 1123, 1413, 1466, AP. 31; ds. life 77, 597, 1482, AP. 6; as. lif AP. 20, 38, 73.  
**lifcearo**, f., *anxiety concerning life*: ns. 1428.  
**liffruma**, m., *Creator*: ds. liffruman 562; vs. liffruma 1284.  
**lifgan**, W3, *live*: ptc. nsm. lifigende 378, 459; vsm. 1409.  
**lifneru**, f., *nourishment*: ds. lifnere 1089.  
**lifwela**, m., *riches of life eternal*: ns. AP. 49.

**līg**, m., *flame, fire*: gs. lēges 1552; is. līge 1541.

**līhtan**, W1, *become light, dawn*: pret. 3 sg. līhte 1397.

**līmsēoc**, adj., *lame*: np. līmsēoce 579.

**līnd**, f., *shield*: ds. līnde 46.

**līndgecrod**, n., *troop armed with shields*: ds. līndgecrode 1220.

**līndgelāc**, n., *battle*: gs. līndgelāces AP. 76.

**līndgestealla**, m., *comrade in battle*: vp. līndgesteallan 1344.

**līnnan**, 3, w. inst., *cease, depart from*: inf. 1138. See **blīnnan**.

**līss**, f. 1. *pleasure, joy*: dp. līssum 825; ip. 868. — 2. *welfare*: ds. līsse 1111.

**līð**, n., *limb*: np. līoðu 1404; ap. līoðo 781.

**līðan**, 1, *sail*: inf. 256. See **belīðan**.

**līðe**, adj., *gentle, agreeable*: nsm. 276; npm. 867; gpm. līðra AP. 92; comp. nsm. līðra 437.

**līðend**, see **ēa-**, **heaðo-**, **mereliðend**.

**loc**, m., *lock of hair*: ns. 1423, 1472; np. loccas 1426.

**loca**, see **burg-**, **ferð-**, **hearm-**, **heolstor-**, **hord-**, **wordloca**.

**lof**, n. 1. *praise*: ns. 57, 1451, AP. 6, 120; as. 877, 1006, 1295, 1477, 1479. — 2. *favor, joy*: ds. lofe 868, 989.

**loga**, see **wærloga**.

**lūcan**, 2, *close up, confine*: pret. 3 pl. lucon 1259; pp. gpm. locenra 303. See **be-**, **on-**, **tōlūcan**.

**lufe**, f., *love*: ds. lufan 431; as. 164, 1063. See **fyrhðlufe**.

**lufian**, W2. 1. *love, be pleased with*: opt. pres. 3 sg. lufige AP. 88, 107. — 2. *show favor to*: pret. 3 sg. lufode 597; pret. 3 pl. lufodon 868.

**lungre**, adv. 1. *suddenly, quickly*: 46, 77, 124, 151, 614, 674, 1042, 1093, 1123, 1138, 1347, 1421, 1628. — 2. *grievously, severely*: 518, 1472.

**lust**, m. 1. *desire*: ns. 286, 294; ds. luste 1079; as. lust 303. — 2. **on**

**luste**, *joyful, eager*: ds. 1023, 1140, 1573.

**lȳfan**, see **gelyfan**.

**lyft**, f., *air*: ds. lyfte 420, 866.

**lyftgelāc**, n., *motion through the air*: as. 827, 1552.

**lȳsan**, see **ā-**, **tōlȳsan**.

**lystan**, W1, impers. w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing, *take pleasure in*: 3 sg. lysteð AP. 97. See **oflysted**.

**lysu**, adj., *false, wicked*: npm. lyswe 1220.

**lȳt**, n., *few*: as. 271, 476.

**lȳt**, adv., *little, to a slight degree*: 1227, 1290, 1344.

**lȳtel**, adj., *small, short*: ipn. lȳtlum 1488. See **unlȳtel**.

## M

**mā**, n., *more*: ns. 492, 662; as. 924, 1178, 1443.

**mæcg**, m., *man, warrior*: ap. mæcgas 422, 1708; gp. mæcga 772. See **ōrettmæcg**.

**mācræftig**, adj., *very skilful*: vpm. mācræftige 257; comp. asm. mācræftigran 472.

**mæg**, m., *kinsman*: np. māgas 1515. See **cnēomæg**.

**māga**, m., *man, hero*: ns. 639, 815, 984; vs. 625. See **hēafodmāga**.

**magan**, PP. 1. *may, can*: 1 sg. mæg 851; 2 sg. miht 340, 595, 811, 860, 1364, 1517, meaht 211; 3 sg. mæg 215, 425; 2 pl. magon 1179, 1558, magan 759; 3 pl. magon 279, 1215; pret. 1 sg. mehte 479; pret. 3 sg. mihte 16, 573, 1129, 1393, meahte 1323; pret. 3 pl. mihton 132. — 2. *be able*: 1 sg. mæg 190, 933; 2 sg. miht 603, 624, 816, AP. 105; 3 sg. mæg 194, 502, 516, 546, AP. 96; 1 pl. magon 1352, magan 1347; 3 pl. magon 954; pret. 1 sg. mihte 477, meahte 272, 922; pret. 2 sg. mehte 929; pret. 3 sg. mihte 986, 1543;

- pret. 3 pl. *mihton* 368, 565, 964, 1147, 1714, *meahton* 1224, 1231; opt. 1 sg. *mæge* 303.
- mægen**, n. 1. *power*: ds. *mægene* 1469, 1676; as. *mægen* 1214; is. *mægene* 701, 1433. — 2. *troop, band*: ns. 391, 1571; as. 876. — 3. *deed, miracle*: ap. *mægen* 625. *See folc-, hand-, heremægen.*
- mægenspēd**, f., *power*: dp. *mægen-spēdum* 1285.
- magorædend**, m., *counselor of men*: gs. *magorædendes* 1461.
- mægð**, f., *race, tribe*: ds. *mægðe* 264, 275; as. 844.
- magu**, *see hēafodmagu.*
- maguðegn**, m., *retainer*: ds. *maguþegne* 94, *maguþegne* 1207; as. *maguþegn* 366; np. *maguþegnas* 1140, *maguþegnas* 1515.
- mægwlite**, m., *face, countenance*: ds. *mægwlite* 1338; as. 856.
- mæl**, *see fȳr-, gemæl.*
- mælan**, W1, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. *mælde* 300, 767.
- mælum**, *see ðræg-, ðūsendmælum.*
- Mambre**, pr. n., *Mamre*: ds. 788.
- mān**, n., *crime, wickedness*: ns. 694, 767; is. *māne* 1599.
- mænan**, W1, *complain, bemoan*: 3 pl. *mænað* 1665; pret. 3 pl. *mændon* 1157, *mændan* 1548.
- mandrēam**, m., *joy of men*: ds. *mandrēame* 37.
- mæne**, adj., *wicked*: gp. *mænra* 941.
- mānfrēa**, m., *prince of evil*: ns. 1313.
- mānful**, adj., *evil, wicked*: npm. *mānfulle* 180; gpm. *mānfulra* 42.
- māngenīðla**, m., *evil foe*: np. *māngenīðlan* 916.
- manig**, adj., *many, many a (one)*: nsm. 1085, 1116, 1225, *mænig* 1436; nsmn. *manig* 1549, 1596; dsm. *manegum* 1120; asn. *manig* 814; npm. *manige* 658, 973, 1626; apm. 583; dpm. *manegum* 960, 1708, AP. 52.
- mann**, m., *man*: ns. 1484, AP. 107; ds. *menn* AP. 113; as. *mann* 493, *mon* 746; np. *menn* 594, 814, *men* 7; gp. *manna* 262, 486, 517, 544, 637, 908, 1374, AP. 25, *monna* 1023; dp. *mannum* 767; ap. *menn* 246, 676, 895, AP. 24, *men* 583; vp. *menn* 257. *See ealdormann.*
- manncynn**, n., *mankind, human being*: gs. *manncynnes* 357, 1178, 1293, 1465, AP. 29, *mancynnes* 69, 172, 446, 540, 846; as. *mancynn* 945, 1502.
- mānslagu**, f., *cruel blow*: ap. *mānslaga* 1218.
- māra**, *see mycel.*
- mære**, adj., *famous, glorious*: nsn. AP. 121; gsm. *mæres* 94; dsm. *mærum* 449, 908; dsf. *mæran* 40, 287, 973; asm. *mærne* 366, *mæran* 227; asf. *mære* AP. 67; asn. 815, 1338; npm. 7.
- Maria**, pr. n., *Mary*: ns. 688.
- marmanstān**, m., *marble*: vs. 1498. [Lat. *marmor.*]
- mærsian**, *see gemærsian.*
- martyr**, m., *martyr*: gp. *martyra* 876. [Lat. *martyr.*]
- mærðo**, f., *fame*: ns. AP. 7.
- mæst**, m., *mast*: ds. *mæste* 465.
- mæst**, *see mycel.*
- mæte**, *see or-, un-mæte.*
- Māthēus**, pr. n., *Matthew*: ns. 11, 40, 122, 1044; gs. AP. 67; as. 941, 1004; vs. 97.
- mæðel**, m., *meeting, council*: ds. *meðle* 1436, 1626; as. *mæðel* 1049, 1496.
- mæðelhēgende**, adj., *deliberating, holding council*: gp. *meðelhēgendra* 262; np. *mæðelhēgende* 1096, *mæðelhægende* 609.
- māðm**, m., *treasure*: ds. *māðme* 1113; dp. *māðmum* 309.
- mæw**, m., *sea-gull*: ns. 371.
- mearc**, *see fyrst-, ge-, lēddmearc.*
- mearcian**, *see āmearcian.*
- mearcland**, n., *country*: ns. 19; as. 802.

**mearcpæð**, n., *path through the land*: ds. mearcpaðe 1061; ap. mearcpaðu 788.

**mearh**, m., *horse, steed*: dp. mēarum 1096. *See* sāmearh.

**mēde**, *see* ge-, wiðermēde.

**mēdum**, *see* ēaðmēdum.

**meldigan**, W2, *reveal, betray*: inf. 1170.

**meltan**, *see* formeltan.

**menigo**, f., *multitude*: ns. 449; gs. 177; ds. 1200, 1209; as. 101, 1044, menigeo 1690.

**meoduserwen**, f., *terror, grief*: ns. 1526.

**meorð**, f., *reward*: ns. 275.

**meotud**, m., *ruler, God, Lord*: ns. 172, 357, 386, 446, 789, 1207, 1513, 1602; gs. meotudes 140, 517, 681, 694, 724, 881, 1498, 1632; ds. meotide 924, 984, 1469; vs. meotud 69, 902, 1289.

**meotudwang**, m., *field of fate, battle-field*: ds. meotudwange 11.

**mere**, m., *sea*: ns. 465; gs. meres 221; ds. mere 491; as. 283. *See* hwælmere.

**merebāt**, m., *vessel*: ds. merebāte 246.

**merefaroð**, m., *sea journey*: ds. merefaroðe 289, 351.

**mereflōd**, m., *flood of water*: ns. 1526.

**mereliðend**, m., *sailor*: dp. mereliðendum 353.

**merestrēam**, m., *ocean-stream*: gp. merestrēama 309, 454.

**mereðyssa**, m., *ship*: ds. mereþyssan 446, mereþissan 257.

**Mermedonia**, pr. n. 1. *Mermedonia*: as. 42, 180. — 2. *Mermedonian*: gp. Marmedonia 264, 844, 1676.

**-met**, *see* gemet.

**mētan**, W1, *meet, find*: pret. 1 sg. mētte 471, 553. *See* gemētan.

**mete**, m., *food*: gs. metes 1113; as. mete 366.

**metelēast**, f., *lack of food, famine*: ds. metelēaste 39; as. 1157.

**meteðearfende**, adj., *lacking food*: dp. meteþearfendum 27, 136.

**mēðe**, adj., *weary*: np. 1157; ap. 39, 465.

**meðel**, *see* mæðel.

**meðelstede**, m., *place of meeting, council-place*: ds. meðelstede 658, 697.

**meðlan**, W1, *speak*: inf. 1440.

**micel**, *see* mycel.

**mid**, prep. 1. *with (accompaniment)*: w. dat. 114, 209, 249, 292, 681, 779, 1049, 1053, 1674; w. acc. 379, 626, 914. — 2. *by, in, by means of (manner)*: w. dat. 51, 54, 265, 319, 347, 521, 809, 825, 866, 989, 1021, 1048, 1057, 1075, 1153, 1220, 1401, 1486, 1559; w. inst. 1594. — 3. *among*: w. dat. 12, 85, 184, 599, 615, 685, 718, 758, 966, 1408, 1644, 1646, 1722, AP. 35, 38, 64; w. inst. 1643. — 4. *at*: w. dat. 220, 235, 1388, 1525. — 5. *in presence of*: w. acc. AP. 74. — 6. *postpositive, with*: 99, 101, 945, 1218.

**mid**, adv., *together, at the same time*: 237, 878, 1638.

**middangeard**, m., *earth*: gs. middangeardes 82, 227; as. middangeard 161, 224, 345, 701, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1502, 1718, AP. 7.

**miht**, f., *power, might*: ns. 1434, 1718, AP. 7, 121; as. 486, 525, 574, 585, 642, 1336, 1476, AP. 56; is. mihte 939; ap. mihte 694; ip. mihtum 104, 162, 328, 536, 697, 785, 1207, 1513.

**mihtig**, adj., *mighty*: nsm. 662, 786, 1372, 1496. *See* ælmihtig.

**milde**, adj., *gracious, kind*: nsm. 902.

**mildheort**, adj., *kindly disposed*: nsm. 1285.

**milts**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 908; gs. mildse 140; ds. 1674; as. 289; gp. miltsa 353, 449; ip. miltsum 544.

**mīn**, pron., *my*: nsm. 634, 1425; nsn. 1289; gsf. mīnre 1433; dsf. 968, 1674; asm. mīnne 975, 1281, 1416, 1440, 1670; asf. mīne 97, 224, 1215.

- 1374; as. mīn 1214, 1481; vsm. 73, 190, 1284, 1453; isn. mīne 1626, AP. 25; npn. mīne 391, 1368; npn. mīn 734; gpm. mīnra 934; gpn. 924; dpn. mīnum 1328; vpm. mīne 1343.
- mīrce**, adj., *dark, evil*: apf. 1218.
- misgehygd**, n., *evil thought*: ns. 772.
- missenlic**, adj., *various*: npn. missenlice 583.
- mīðan**, 1, *conceal*: imper. 2 sg. mīð 1209. *See* bemīðan.
- mōd**, n. 1. *mind, heart*: ns. 351, 637, 771, 1667, AP. 52; gs. mōdes 143, 287, 1690; ds. mōde 66, 99, 422, 448, 639, 746, 1017, 1251, 1583; as. mōd 69, 82. — 2. *courage*: ds. mōde 625, 984; as. mōd 1393, 1461. — 3. *þæt æðele mōd = he* 1242; *ūre mōd = we* 454; *hira mōd = they* 140. *See* ācol-, bolgen-, dēor-, ēað-, gealg-, gēomor-, glæd-, glēaw-, rēonig-, stið-, wērigmōd.
- mōdblind**, adj., *spiritually blind*: npn. mōdblinde 814.
- mōdgemynd**, n., *intelligence, information*: as. 688.
- mōdgēomor**, adj., *sad of heart*: npn. mōdgēomre 1113; apm. 1708.
- mōdgeðyldig**, adj., *patient*: nsm. mōdgeþyldig 981.
- mōdhord**, m., *mind, thought*: as. 172.
- mōdig**, adj., *brave*: nsm. 241, 1676, modiga 1632; npn. mōdige 802, 1096, 1140, 1515, mōdigan 1049; gpm. mōdigra 395, 1571. *See* tilmōdig.
- mōdiglic**, adj., *brave*: apm. mōdiglice 246.
- mōdrōf**, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1496.
- mōdsefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 892; ds. mōdsefan 554; as. 1209.
- mōdur**, f., *mother*: ns. 687.
- molde**, f., *earth*: ds. moldan 594, 1289, 1484.
- moldern**, n., *dwelling in the earth, grave*: as. 802.
- morgen**, m., *morning*: ds. morgene 221.
- morgentorht**, adj., *gleaming in the morning*: nsf. 241.
- morðor**, mn. 1. *murder*: gs. morðres 1140. — 2. *crime, wickedness*: gs. morðres 975, 1313, morþres 1170; is. morðre 19, 772.
- morðorcofa**, m., *prison*: ds. morðorcofan 1004.
- morðorcraeft**, m., *crime, murder*: ip. morðorcraeftum 177.
- morðorscyldig**, adj., *guilty of crime*: npn. morðorscyldige 1599.
- mōs**, n., *food*: ds. mōse 27, 136.
- mōt**, *see* gemōt.
- mōtan**, anv. 1. *may, be able*: 2 sg. mōst 105, 115; 1 pl. mōtan AP. 117; 3 pl. mōton 228, 598, 886, 916, 1215, AP. 99, mōtan 109, 1444; pret. 3 pl. mōston 1012; opt. pres. 1 sg. mōte 1416.
- Moyses**, pr. n. *Moses*: ds. Moyse 1513.
- munan**, *see* ge-, onmunan.
- mund**, f., *hand*: ip. mundum 491, 750.
- mundbyrd**, f., *protection*: gs. mundbyrde 1433; as. mundbyrd 724, 1632.
- murnan**, W1, *mourn, grieve*: pret. 3 pl. murndan 37; imper. 2 sg. murn 99; ptc. nsn. murnende 1667. *See* bemurnan.
- mūð**, m., *mouth*: as. 651, 1300, 1440.
- mycel**, n., *much, many things*: ns. 1481; gs. mycles 895.
- mycel**, adj. 1. *much, great*: nsm. micel 41, mycel 287; nsf. micel 158, mycel 1166, 1605, 1690; nsn. mycel AP. 121; dsm. wk. miclan 1436; isn. micle 707, 1204; comp. nsf. märe 1522; asf. māran 554; sup. w. gp., ns. mæst AP. 118; as. 1198, 1445; is. mæste 1501. — 2. *long*: nsf. micel 107, mycel 422; asn. mycel 815.
- mycle**, adv., *much, greatly*: 1428, 1518, 1563.
- myclian**, W2, *increase*: pret. 3 sg. myclade 1526; pret. 3 pl. mycladon 1553.

**myclum**, adv., *greatly*: 395, 892, miclum 122.

**myltan**, *see* **gemyltan**.

**-mynd**, *see* **ge-**, **wyrðmynd**.

**myndig**, *see* **gemyndig**.

**myne**, m., *desire, purpose*: ns. 1537.

**mynnan**, W1, *direct, lead*: 3 sg. myneð 294.

**myrce**, adv., *darkly, evilly*: 1313.

**myrran**, *see* **gemyrran**.

## N

**N** = *rune* † AP. 104; *for meaning, see Notes*.

**nabban**, W3, *lack, not have*: 1 sg. næbbe 301; 2 sg. nafast 311.

**naca**, m., *ship*: ns. 266; gs. nacan 291.

**næfre**, adv., *never*: 459, 471, 1286, 1382, 1401, 1693.

**nālas**, adv., *no, not at all*: 46, 233, 506, 605, 1042, 1591.

**nama**, m., *name*: ns. 542, 1322, AP. 57; as. naman 975, 1670.

**nænig**, pron., *none, not any*: nsm. 544, 986; asm. nænigne 570, 1037.

**næs**, *see* **wesan**.

**næss**, m., *cliff, headland*: ds. næsse 1710; as. næs 1305.

**nāt**, *see* **witan**.

**ne**, adv., *not*: 16, 37, 85, 98, etc.

**nē**, conj., *nor, neither*: 22, 99, 199, 200, etc.

**nēadcofa**, m., *prison*: ds. nēadcofan 1309. *See* **nēd**.

**nēah**, prep. w. dat., *near, near to*: 359, 1062, nēh 821, 833, 991, 1252.

**nēah**, adv., *near*: 638, nēh 542.

**nearonēd**, f., *oppression, bondage*: dp. nearonēdum 102.

**nearowe**, adv., *diligently, earnestly*: AP. 104.

**nearu**, f., *oppression, cruelty*: as. 414.

**nearu**, adj., *cruel, severe*: asf. nearwe AP. 13.

**nēat**, n., *beast, cattle*: np. 67.

**nēd**, f. 1. *desire, necessity*: ns. nēod 158; ds. nēde 115. — 2. *hardship, suffering*: dp. nēdum 1377. — 3. *rune* †; *for meaning, see note to* AP. 104. *See* **nearo-**, **ðrēanēd**.

**nēh**, *see* **nēah**.

**nemnan**, W1, *name, call*: pret. 3 pl. nemdon 1193; pp. nemned 720, 1651; inf. 1176.

**nemne**, conj., *besides, except*: 664.

**nemðe**, conj., *unless*: nemþe AP. 114.

**nēod**, *see* **nēd**.

**nēon**, adv., *nearly, greatly*: 1176.

**neorxnawang**, m., *paradise*: ns. 102.

**nēosan**, W1, w. gen. 1. *visit, come to*: inf. 310, 830, 1025, 1389, AP. 110. — 2. *inquire for, seek for*: 3 pl. neosað AP. 103; inf. 484.

**nēotan**, 1, w. gen., *enjoy*: inf. 810. *See* **benēotan**.

**nergend**, m., *Savior*: ns. neregend 291, 1377; vs. nergend 549, 921, nerigend 1286.

**nerian**, *see* **generian**.

**Nērōn**, pr. n., *Nero*: gs. Nērōnes AP. 13.

**neru**, *see* **līfneru**.

**nesan**, 5, *survive*: opt. pres. 1 pl. nesan 515.

**net**, *see* **searonet**.

**nēðan**, *see* **genēðan**.

**nifol** (**nēol**), adj., *precipitous, steep, deep*: asm. niflan 1305.

**niht**, f. 1. *night*: ns. 1305; ds. 1462; as. 1254, 1265. — 2. *day (i.e. 24 hours)*: np. 185; gp. nihta 930, 1673; dp. nihtum 148.

**nihtes**, adv., *by night*: AP. 104.

**nihtgerīmes**, adv., *counting by nights (i.e. days)*: 115, 158.

**nihthelm**, m., *cover of night*: ns. 123.

**nihtlang**, adj., *throughout the night*: asm. nihtlangne 834, 1309.

**niiman**, 4, *take, carry off*: pp. numen 1340. *See* **forniman**.



**nīowīnga**, adv., *anew*: 1394. *See* **ednīwīnga**.

**nīs**, *see* **wesan**.

**nīð**, m., *man*: gp. **nīða** 1377.

**nīð**, m., *hostility, hate*: ns. 768, 1303, 1394; ds. **nīðe** 1037.

**nīðhete**, m., *enemy*: dp. **nīðhetum** 834.

**nīðla**, *see* **genīðla**.

**nīðplega**, m., *battle*: ds. **nīðplegan** 414.

**nīwe**, adj. 1. *fresh, renewed*: isf. **nīwan** 123, 1303. — 2. *new, recent*: asm. **nīowan** 1670. *See* **ednīwe**.

**nīwlan**, *see* **genīwlan**.

**nō**, adv., *no, not at all*: 3, 562, 926, 1265, 1443, 1704.

**nū**, adv., *now*: 66, 185, 283, 332, 340, 391, 397, 595, 614, 648, 678, 729, 759, 811, 897, 902, 904, 932, 936, 950, 1023, 1165, 1166, 1179, 1197, 1281, 1293, 1320, 1328, 1364, 1414, 1425, 1441, 1478, 1503, 1504, 1517, 1558, 1602, 1605, AP. 73, 88, 105, 120.

**nū**, conj., *now that, since*: 317, 485, 1301: correl. **nū . . . nū** 644–648.

**nū gēna**, adv., *still, further*: 422, 475.

**nū gýt**, adv., *still, further*: 814. *See* **gīt**.

**nū þā**, adv., *now*: 489, in phrase *īu ond nū þā*.

**ny:ton**, **nyton**, *see* **witan**.

## O

**of**, prep. w. dat. 1. *from, out of*: 57, 89, 100, 112, 115, 117, 168, 195, 243, 264, 278, 291, 396, 444, 555, 583, 587, 589, 590, 732, 736, 757, 774, 780, 794, 795, 944, 968, 1033, 1133, 1144, 1149, 1150, 1177, 1373, 1385, 1399, 1409, 1423, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1503, 1544, 1564, 1624, 1664, AP. 56, 112.

**ofer**, prep. w. acc. 1. *over, upon, throughout*: 7, 87, 190, 198, 201, 223, 224, 236, 242, 244, 247, 252, 259, 274, 283, 293, 298, 306, 310, 336, 345, 348, 352, 367, 368, 383, 390, 398, 421, 423, 439, 445, 495, 499, 513, 602, 701, 788,

823, 825, 838, 853, 863, 906, 932, 970, 1104, 1173, 1229, 1261, 1300, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1524, 1714, 1718, 1719, AP. 7, 122. — 2. *among*: 543, AP. 15. — 3. *contrary to*: 517, 1215, 1374. — 4. *beyond, above*: 676, 895, 1481.

**ōfer**, m., *shore*: ds. **ōfre** 1712.

**oferbregdan**, 3, *cover, protect*: pret. 3 sg. **oferbrægd** 1541, **oferbræd** 1306.

**oferēode**, anv., *come upon, overpower*: pret. 3 sg. 464, 820, 826, 862.

**oferhygd**, fn., *pride*: dp. **oferhygdum** 319; ip. **oferhigdum** 1318.

**oferstīgan**, 1, *rise above*: pret. 3 sg. **oferstāg** 1574.

**ofgīfan**, 5, *depart from, give up*: pret. 3 pl. **ofgēfon** AP. 12; inf. 1655.

**oflysted**, part. adj. w. gen., *desirous*: 1112, 1226.

**ofost**, f., *haste*: ns. 1565.

**ofostlice**, adv., *quickly*: 1625, **ofstlice** 299, 792.

**ofslāpan**, W1, *sleep*: ptc. dpm. **ofslāpendum** 865.

**oft**, adv., *often*: 17, 140, 164, 442, 511, 618, 626, 652.

**ombehtðegn**, m., *servant*: np. **ombehtþegnas** 1534.

**on**, prep. A. w. dat. 1. *on, upon, in, within*: 10, 11, 18, 22, 36, 58, 65, 66, 98, 99, 102, 130, 137, 179, 180, 185, 206, 212, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 254, 255, 257, 263, 266, 276, 289, 305, 311, 316, 351, 358, 382, 400, 408, 413, 422, 432, 438, 446, 448, 450, 460, 470, 481, 490, 498, 501, 504, 507, 511, 514, 515, 554, 582, 594, 604, 616, 620, 626, 634, 637, 639, 640, 644, 650, 672, 684, 689, 699, 705, 714, 720, 726, 730, 734, 737, 769, 774, 821, 832, 847, 849, 864, 866, 873, 874, 893, 898, 900, 903, 905, 923, 960, 972, 985, 988, 998, 1017, 1021, 1024, 1073, 1084, 1087, 1096, 1140, 1142, 1146, 1165, 1180, 1214, 1226, 1241, 1251, 1265, 1289, 1327, 1338, 1339, 1386, 1422, 1427, 1452, 1453, 1477, 1484,

1485, 1509, 1512, 1531, 1560, 1570, 1573, 1583, 1596, 1615, 1626, 1645, 1652, 1662, 1670, 1671, 1694, 1699, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1716, 1721, AP. 2, 6, 19, 27, 40, 87, 92, 94, 99, 101, 104, 106. — 2. *in, at, during*: 1, 77, 752, 788, 1106, 1407, 1436, 1462, AP. 11, 98. — 3. *according to, by*: 134 (2), 489, 1696. — B. w. inst., *in, by*: 970. — C. w. acc. 1. *to, into*: 86, 207, 286, 430, 588, 777, 824, 827, 935, 1034, 1045, 1050, 1058, 1110, 1191, 1317, 1340, 1385, 1417, AP. 51, 116. — 2. *upon, in*: 15, 191, 222, 250, 252, 253, 284, 337, 379, 429, 444, 500, 504, 715, 830, 852, 899, 928, 1046, 1446, 1502, 1506. — 3. *by, according to*: 120, 170, 324, 339, 700, 1622, 1680. — 4. *at*: 214, 235, 1160, 1388.

**on**, adv., *on, upon*: 1199, 1334.

**onblandan**, R, *mix, mingle*: pp. on-blonden 675.

**onbryrdan**, 1, *excite, stir up*: pp. on-bryrded 122, 1118.

**oncnāwan**, R. 1. *recognize, perceive*: 1 sg. oncnāwe 644; pret. 1 sg. oncnēow 855; pret. 3 sg. 529, 672, 843; pret. 1 pl. oncnēowon 875; pret. 3 pl. 1337; opt. pres. 3 pl. oncnāwan 1214; pp. oncnāwen 527; inf. 566. — 2. *know*: 2 sg. oncnāwest 631; pret. 3 pl. oncnēowan 764. — 3. *address, approach*: opt. pres. 3 sg. oncnāwe 322.

**oncwēðan**, 5, *answer, respond*: pret. 3 sg. oncwæð 270, 396, 442, 555, 1346, 1429.

**oncyrran**, W1. 1. *change, pervert*: pp. oncyrrred 36; inf. 1461. — 2. *intrans., turn, turn away*: pret. 3 sg. oncyrde 466.

**oncyðdæd**, f., *injury*: ap. oncyðdæda 1179.

**oncyðlg**, adj., *revealed*: nsm. AP. 106.

**ond**, conj., *and*: 945, 1001, 1039, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719; all other

occurrences are represented in the MS. by the abbreviation.

**ondgite**, f., *understanding, comprehension*: as. ondgitan 1521.

**ondlang**, adj., *livelong, entire*: asm. ondlangne 818, 1274; asf. ondlange 1254.

**ondsæc**, n., *opposition*: as. 927.

**ondsaca**, m., *foe, opponent*: np. ondsacan 1148, 1459.

**ondswarian**, W2, *answer*: pret. 3 sg. ondswarode 260, 277, 290, 343, 510, 623, ondswarude 202, andswarode 925; opt. pres. 2 sg. ondsware 319.

**ondswaru**, f., *answer*: as. ondsware 285, 315, 401, 508, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375, andsware 189, 572.

**ondswerian**, W2, *answer*: pret. 3 pl. ondsweorodon 857.

**ondwist**, f., *support, station*: as. 1540.

**onfeng**, m., *attack*: ds. onfenge 1339.

**onfindan**, 3, *discover*: 3 pl. onfindaþ 181.

**onfōn**, R, w. dat., *receive, seize*: pret. 3 sg. onfēng 1528; pret. 3 pl. onfēngon 1122, 1630; opt. pret. 3 sg. onfēnge 53; inf. 782, 1640.

**onginn**, n., *action, behavior*: ns. 888, ongin 466, 741.

**onginnan**, 3, *begin, commence*: 1 sg. onginne 1440; pret. 3 sg. ongan 12, 427, 449, 469, 669, 1019, 1170, 1315, 1341, 1398, 1698, ongann 352, 849, 1126, 1266, 1555, 1607; pret. 3 pl. ongunnon 763; opt. pret. 2 sg. ongunne 1419.

**ongitan**, 5. 1. *perceive*: pret. 3 pl. ongēton 534; pp. ongiten 785, 897; inf. 861, 901, 922, 986. — 2. *hear, take heed*: imper. 2 sg. ongit 936.

**ongyldan**, 3, w. gen., *yield, give up*: inf. 1101.

**onhlīdan**, 1. 1. *open*: pp. onhliden 1077. — 2. *appear*: pret. 3 sg. onhlād 1269.

**onhrēran**, W1, *stir up*: pp. onhrēred 370, 393, 1302, 1394.

**onhyrdan**, W1, *encourage*: pp. onhyr-  
ded AP. 53.  
**onirnan**, 3, *yield, burst open*: pret. 3  
sg. onarn 999.  
**onlīc**, adj., *similar, like*: npm. onlīce  
251.  
**onlīcnes**, *see anlīcnes*.  
**onlīhtan**, W1, *enlighten*: pp. onlīhted  
AP. 52.  
**onlūcan**, 2, *open, unlock*: pret. 3 sg.  
onlēac 172, 316, 601.  
**onmōd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 54; npm.  
anmōde 1638.  
**onmunan**, PP, w. gen. and acc., *deem  
worthy*: inf. 895.  
**onsendan**, W1. 1. *send*: 1 sg. onsende  
110; pret. 3 sg. 1604; opt. pres. 2  
sg. 1508. — 2. *dismiss, give up*: pret.  
3 sg. onsende 1327; inf. 187.  
**onspannan**, R, *reveal, disclose*: pret.  
3 sg. onspēonn 470, onspēon 671.  
**onspringan**, 3, *rise, spring up*: pret.  
3 sg. onsprang 1635.  
**onstellan**, W1, *set*: inf. 971.  
**onsund**, adj., *uninjured, sound*: np.  
onsunde 1012; ap. 1623.  
**onsyn**, f., *sight, face*: as. onsýne 721,  
1499.  
**onsýne**, adj., *visible*: nsm. 910.  
**ontynan**, W1, *disclose*: pp. ontýned  
105, 1612.  
**onwacan**, 6. 1. *awake*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwōc 839, AP. 65. — 2. *originate*:  
pret. 3 pl. onwōcon 683.  
**onwadan**, 6, w. dat., *enter, penetrate*:  
pret. 3 sg. onwōd 140.  
**onwenden**, W1, *pervert*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwende 35.  
**onwindan**, 3, *return, retreat*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwand 531.  
**open**, adj. 1. *open*: asn. 803; npf.  
opene 1076. — 2. *known, manifest*:  
nsf. open 759.  
**openian**, *see geopenian*.  
**ōr**, n. 1. *beginning*: ns. 1382, AP. 65; as.  
oor 649. — 2. *front, van*: ds. ōre 1106.

**orcnaewe**, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 770.  
**ord**, m. 1. *point, spear*: as. 1330; ip.  
ordum 32, 1205. — 2. *beginning*: ds.  
orde 1483, 1535.  
**ordfruma**, m., *prince, chief, Lord*: ns.  
146, AP. 28; ds. ordfruman 683.  
**ōretta**, m., *warrior*: ns. 879, 983, ōreta  
463.  
**ōrettmæcg**, m., *warrior*: np. ōrett-  
mæcgas 664.  
**orfeorme**, adj. w. inst., *destitute, lack-  
ing*: npm. 406, 1617.  
**orgete**, adj., *manifest*: nsf. 759, 1569;  
nsn. 526; asn. 851.  
**orhlytte**, adj. w. gen., *devoid of*: npm.  
680.  
**orlege**, n., *strife, battle*: ns. 1302; ds.  
47, 1146, 1205.  
**ormæte**, adj., *very great, excessive*: nsf.  
1166.  
**orwēna**, adj. w. gen., *hopeless*: nsm.  
1107.  
**oð**, prep. w. acc., *to, up to*: 1575.  
**ōðer**, pron., *other, another*: dsm. ōðrum  
1051; dsf. ōðerre 443; dsn. ōðrum  
138; asm. ōðerne 1015, 1163; asn.  
ōðer 656; isf. ōðre 706, 1675, 1700,  
ōþre 808; npm. ōðere 689; gp. ōðerra  
704; dp. ōðrum 1100; ap. ōðre AP. 51.  
**oððæt**, conj., *until*: 464, 820, 826, 1061,  
1245, 1268, 1456, oðþæt 268, 835,  
1247, oþþæt 1574, oþðæt 1304.  
**oððe**, conj., *or*: 334, 546, 638, 745.  
**oððēodan**, W1, *dismember, separate*:  
pp. oððēoded 1421.  
**oðwītan**, 1, *taunt, reproach*: opt. pres.  
1 pl. oðwītan 1358.  
**oðýwan**, W1, *reveal*: pp. oðýwed 911.  
**ōwiht**, pron., used adverbially, *at all*:  
is. ōwihte 800.

## P

**pæð**, *see mearc-, seolhpæð*.  
**Paulus**, pr. n., *Paul*: ns. AP. 14.  
**Persēas**, pr. n. pl., *Persians*: gp.  
Persēa AP. 76.

**Petrus**, pr. n., *Peter*: ns. AP. 14.  
**Philippus**, pr. n., *Philip*: ns. AP. 37.  
**Plātan**, pr. n., *Platan*: as. Plātan 1651.  
**plega**, *see* gūð-, nīð-, secgplega.  
**plegian**, W2, *play, move about quickly*:  
 pret. 3 sg. plegode 370.

## R

**ræced**, n., *hall, building*: as. 1308.  
*See* hēah-, hlin-, wīnræced.  
**racian**, W2, w. dat., *rule*: inf. 521.  
**racu**, *see* strēamracu.  
**rād**, *see* brim-, hran-, swanrād.  
**ræd**, m. 1. *command, order*: as. 936;  
 dp. rædum 1498. — 2. *counsel, plan*  
*of action*: as. ræd 1088; dp. rædum  
 469. — 3. *rule, authority*: ns. ræd  
 1645. *See* an-, feorh-, folcraed.  
**rædan**, *see* berædan.  
**-ræden**, *see* camp-, frum-, gaful-  
 ræden.  
**rædend**, m., *ruler*: ns. 816; np. 627.  
*See* mago-, selerædend.  
**rædsnottor**, adj., *wise in council*: comp.  
 asm. rædsnotterran 473.  
**ræfnan**, *see* āræfnan.  
**ræran**, *see* āræran.  
**ræs**, *see* dēað-, gūð-, sweordræs.  
**ræsan**, W1, *rush*: pret. 3 pl. ræsdon  
 1334.  
**ræsboran**, m., *leader, chief*: ds. ræs-  
 boran 385; np. 139.  
**ræswa**, m., *prince, ruler*: ns. 1086;  
 ds. ræswan 1622; np. 692; dp. ræs-  
 wum 619.  
**rēaf**, *see* wælreaf.  
**rēafian**, *see* berēafian.  
**reccan**, W1, *set forth, narrate*: imp.  
 2 sg. rece 419; inf. 1489, AP. 11, 24.  
*See* āreccan.  
**recen**, adj., *awful*: npn. recene 1511.  
**rēodan**, 2, *stain, redden*: pret. 2 pl. ru-  
 don 1003.  
**rēofan**, *see* berēofan.  
**rēonigmōd**, adj., *sad*: npm. rēonig-  
 mōde 592.

**reord**, f., *speech*: is. reorde 60, 1108.  
**reordberend**, m., *man*: ap. 419.  
**reordig**, *see* ellreordig.  
**reordigan**, W2, *speak*: 3 sg. reordap  
 1301; pret. 3 sg. reordode 364, reor-  
 dade 255, 415, 602; inf. 469. *See*  
 gereordian.  
**rēotan**, 2, *weep, lament*: inf. 1712.  
**rēow**, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsm. rēow  
 1116; npn. rēowe 1334. *See* dēað-,  
 wælreow.  
**rest**, f., *rest*: is. reste 592. *See* land-  
 rest.  
**restan**, W1, *rest, become quiet*: inf.  
 1576.  
**rētan**, W1, *comfort, cheer*: inf. 1608.  
 [rōt.]  
**rēðe**, adj., *fierce*: npm. 139.  
**rīce**, n., *realm, kingdom*: gs. rīces  
 807, 1326, 1683. *See* ēðel-, heofon-  
 rīce.  
**rīce**, adj., *powerful*: nsm. 364, 415;  
 dsm. rīcum 385.  
**ricene**, adv., *straightway, quickly*: 807,  
 AP. 39.  
**rīcsian**, W2, *hold sway, prevail*: pret.  
 3 sg. rīcsode 1116.  
**rīdende**, *see* faroðrīdende.  
**riht**, n., *right, equity, justice*: ns. 1645;  
 gs. rihtes 139; ds. rihte 521; as.  
 riht 120, 324, 700. *See* lēod-, unriht.  
**riht**, adj., *just, equitable*: asf. ryhte  
 1511.  
**rīm**, n., *number*: ds. rīme 1696; as.  
 rīm 546; is. rīme 1035. *See* unrīm,  
 nihtgerīmes.  
**rīmcraeft**, m., *computation, figures*: ds.  
 rīmcraefte 134.  
**rīnc**, m., *man, warrior*: ns. 1116; np.  
 rincas 9; gp. rinca 967; dp. rincum  
 AP. 11; vp. rincas 1343. *See* gūð-  
 rīnc.  
**rīsan**, *see* ārīsan.  
**-riss**, *see* cnēoriss.  
**rōd**, f., *cross*: ns. 967; gs. rōde AP.  
 39; ds. 1326; as. 1331.

**rodor**, m., *sky, heaven*: as. 521; gp. rodera 627, 816.

**rōf**, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 984, 1469, 1676; npm. rōfe 9; dpm. rōfum 1343; comp. asm. rōfran 473; vsm. rōf 625. *See beadu-, cyne-, ellen-, hete-, hige-, mōd-, sigerōf.*

**Rōmeburg**, pr. n., *Rome*: ds. Rōmebyrig AP. 11.

**rond**, m., *shield*: ns. 9, 412.

**rōwend**, m., *sailor*: as. 473.

**rūn**, f. 1. *writing*: ds. rūne 134. — 2. *secret discussion*: ds. rūne 1161; as. 627.

**ryht**, adj., *see riht.*

**-ryhte**, *see bīryhte.*

**rȳman**, *see gerȳman.*

**rȳne**, *see ge-, gāstgerȳne.*

**rȳnig**, *see wīdrȳnig.*

## S

**sæ**, m., *sea*: ns. 453; gs. sæs 236, 1658; ds. sæwe 515; as. sæ 247.

**sæbāt**, m., *ship*: ds. sæbāte 438, 490.

**sæbeorg**, m., *sea-hill*: ap. sæbeorgas 308.

**sæc**, f., *conflict, struggle*: ds. sæcce AP. 59; as. 1132. *See ondsæc.*

**-saca**, *see ondsaca.*

**sācerd**, m., *priest*: dp. sācerdum AP. 71; ap. sācerdas 742. [Lat. *sacerdos.*] *See ealdorsācerd.*

**sæflota**, m., *ship*: ds. sæflotan 381.

**sægen**, *see fyrnsægen.*

**sægl**, *see segl.*

**sæhengest**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ds. sæhengeste 488.

**sæholm**, m., *sea*: ns. 529.

**sæl**, n., *hall*: as. sel 762; ap. salu 1673. *See bēag-, hornsæl.*

**sæl**, mf., *time, occasion*: ns. 1165.

**sælād**, f., *voyage*: ds. sælāde 511.

**sælan**, W1, *impers., befall, chance*: pres. opt. 3 sg. sæle 1355. *See gesælan.*

**sællida**, m., *sailor*: as. sællidan 471; as. sæleodan 500.

**sælig**, *see un-, wansælig.*

**salt**, *see sealt.*

**sælwāg**, m., *wall of the hall*: ds. sælwāge 1493.

**sæmearh**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ns. 267.

**samnian**, W2, *assemble, gather together, collect*: pret. 1 sg. samnode AP. 2; pret. 3 sg. samnade 125; pret. 3 pl. samnodan 1124. *See gesamnian.*

**samod**, adv., *together, in company*: 1666, AP. 78.

**sandhlīð**, n., *sand-hill*: ap. sandhleofu 236.

**sæne**, adj., *dilatory, slow*: nsm. 204, 211, AP. 34; npm. AP. 75.

**sang**, m. 1. *singing*: ns. 869. — 2. *song, poem*: as. AP. 1.

**sār**, n., *pain*: ns. 1246; gs. sāres 1243; ds. sāre 1453; is. 1396, 1404; as. sār 956, 1468.

**sār**, adj., *painful*: nsn. 1689; asf. sāre 1368.

**sārbenn**, f., *wound*: ip. sārbennum 1239.

**sārcwide**, m., *offensive, hostile speech*: as. 320, 965.

**sārig**, adj., *sorrowful*: isf. sārgan 60.

**sārslege**, m., *painful blow*: ip. sārslegum 1275.

**sæstrēam**, m., *water of the ocean*: ap. sæstrēamas 196, 749.

**Sātān**, pr. n., *Satan*: ds. Sātāne 1689; as. Sātān 1193.

**sæwērig**, adj., *weary of voyaging*: apm. sæwērige 826, 862.

**sāwul**, f., *soul, life*: ns. sāwle AP. 62; as. 151, 433, 865; np. sāwla 228; gp. 549, 921, 1417.

**sāwulgedāl**, n., *death*: as. 1701.

**scæd**, n., *shadow*: np. sceadu 836.

**sceacan**, 6, *move quickly, depart*: pret. 3 pl. scēocan 1139; inf. 1594.

**scealc**, m., *servant*: dp. scealcum 512.

**sceapen**, *see earmsceapen.*

**scearu**, *see folc-, landscearu.*

**scēat**, m., *region, quarter (of the earth)*: ap. scēattas 332.

sceatt, m., *money, payment*: ap. sceattas 297.

sceaða, m., *enemy*: gs. sceaðan 1133, 1291. *See* folc-, fyrn-, lēod-, ðeod-sceaða.

scēawian, W2, *behold*: pret. 3 sg. scēawode 839.

scēnan, *see* gescēnan.

scēor, m., *shower, storm*: ns. 512. *See* hægelscūr.

sceoran, 4, *cut*: inf. 1181.

scerp, adj., *sharp*: nsf. 1133.

scerwen, *see* meoduscerwen.

sceððan, 6, *injure*: 3 sg. scyðeð 1561; inf. 1147, scyððan 1047. *See* gesceððan.

scīnan, 1, *shine*: 3 sg. scīneð 1720; inf. 836. *See* ymbscīnan.

scingelāc, n., *magic*: dp. scingelācum 766.

scip, n., *ship*: as. 240; ip. scipum 512. *See* hornscip.

scipfērend, m., *sailor*: dp. scipfērendum 250.

scippend, *see* scyppend.

scipweard, m., *guardian of the ship*: np. scipweardas 297.

scīre, adv., *brightly*: 836.

scirpla, *see* gescirpla.

scræf, *see* dūn-, eorðscræf.

scrid, adj., *rapid*: nsm. 496.

scrifan, *see* gescrifan.

scriðan, 1, *speed, glide*: inf. 1457.

scua, *see* dimscua, heolstor-, hlin-scuwa.

scūfan, *see* bescūfan.

sculan, anv. 1. *must, must needs (obligation and command)*: 1 sg. sceal 66, sceall AP. 109; 2 sg. scealt 174, 216, 943, 950, 1208, 1366, 1520, 1669, scealtū 220; 3 sg. sceal 185, 435, 1309, AP. 100, scell 1483; 3 pl. sceolon 614, 733; pret. 1 sg. sceolde 924, 1403, 1414; pret. 3 sg. 1137, 1244, AP. 35; pret. 3 pl. sceoldon 137, 796, AP. 10, 79. — 2. *will, shall (futurity)*:

1 sg. sceal 341; 2 sg. scealt 1383, 1467; 3 sg. sceal 520, 890, 947, scel 952; 1 pl. sceolon 1487; pret. 3 sg. sceolde 757, 1100, 1132, 1697; pres. opt. 1 sg. scyle 77. — 3. *be accustomed*: 3 sg. sceall 181.

scūr, *see* scēor.

scūrheard, adj., *effective in battle*: nsf. 1133.

scyldan, *see* gescyldan.

scyldend, *see* gescyldend.

scyldhata, m., *wicked persecutor, enemy*: np. scyldhatan 1047, 1147; dp. scyldhetum 85.

scyldig, adj., *guilty*: npm. scyldige 1216. *See* morðor-, unscyldig.

scýne, adj., *bright, beautiful*: nsm. wk. scýna 766.

scyppend, m., *Creator*: ns. 119, 396, 434, 486, 787, scippend 278; vs. scyppend 192.

scýrdan, *see* gescýrdan.

scyrian, *see* bescyrian, gescýrigan.

sē, sēo, ðæt, 1. dem. pron., def. art., *the, this, that*: nsm. sē 118, 168, 225, 239, 262, 313, 346, 359, 371, 382, 639, 661, 696, 751, 766, 773, 799, 815, 843, 977, 990, 996, 1029, 1045, 1103, 1115, 1126, 1138, 1190, 1195, 1253, 1296, 1307, 1395, 1455, 1523, 1575, 1581, 1587, 1607, 1632, 1635, 1647, 1660, 1687, AP. 14, 25, 60; nsf. sēo 107, 449, 613, 758, 1074, 1210, 1561, sīo 167, 207, 1634; nsn. ðæt 558, 636, 1199, 1437, 1620, þæt 7, 19, 205, 248, 511, 573, 609, 682, 804, 906, 960, 1119, 1135, 1228, 1242, 1489, 1532, 1562, 1659, 1689, 1702, 1722; gsmn. þæs 29, 145, 155, 204, 211, 215, 261, 307, 480, 649, 718, 810, 1056, 1117, 1121, 1238, 1247, 1279, 1499, 1530, 1592, AP. 99, 107, 117; gsf. þære 177; dsmn. ðām 658, 1205, þām 14, 22, 47, 48, 119, 179, 294, 381, 467, 508, 683, 697, 699, 728, 795, 889, 988, 1004, 1008, 101

- 1068, 1080, 1086, 1098, 1118, 1130, 1142, 1146, 1222, 1226, 1298, 1315, 1339, 1351, 1353, 1356, 1359, 1369, 1436, 1460, 1544, 1650, 1659, 1662, 1683, 1702, þæm 795, AP. 58; dsf. ðære 1270, þære 40, 113, 137, 185, 275, 281, 287, 719, 828, 1168, 1462, 1491, 1649, 1672; asm. ðone 752, þone 86, 227, 831, 978, 1171, 1175, 1324, 1431, 1566, AP. 45, 68, 81, 90; asf. ðā 1111, 1386, 1541, 1690, þā 25, 41, 101, 216, 284, 286, 588, 642, 777, 911, 929, 939, 1120, 1160, 1476, 1637, 1655, 1680, 1697, AP. 116; asn. ðæt 194, 329, 1418, þæt 15, 28, 261, 322, 429, 433, 566, 762, 799, 896, 920, 945, 956, 1172, 1288, 1299, 1308, 1361, 1400, 1435, 1463, 1483, 1540, 1663, 1669, AP. 63; is. ðon 970, þon 361, 501, 1522, þē 368, 932, AP. 115, þȳ 733, 1266, 1365, 1594, 1643; np. ðā 559, 763, 801, 1053, 1249, 1592, AP. 75, 85, þā 67, 401, 720, 790, 805, 857, 1027, 1049, 1070, 1458, 1617; gp. þāra 569, 886, 890, 1051, þæra 1495; dp. ðām 885, þām 184, 209, 718, 1014, 1219, 1646, 1649, AP. 106; ap. þā 419, 605, 829, 1089, 1486, AP. 3, ðā AP. 47. — 2. rel. pron., *who, which*, nsm. sē 12, 35, 1105, 1198, 1199, 1377, 1541, 1604; gsm. þæs 1056; gsn. ðæs 1453; dsm. þām 1322; asn. þæt 1482, þæt = double relative, *id quod*, 73, 346; ap. þā 625, 1295; 1624, ðā 816. *See further sē ðe, ðæs, ðæs ðe, ðȳ læs.*
- sealt**, adj., *salt, briny*: asm. sealtne 1532; apm. sealte 196, salte 749.
- searocræft**, m., *treachery*: as. 109.
- searohæbbend**, m., *warrior*: np. searohæbbende 1528; gp. searohæbbendra 1468.
- searonet**, n., *wile, snare*: as. 64; ip. searonettum 943.
- searoðanc**, m., *sagacious thought*: ip. searopancum 1255.
- searu**, fn., *cunning, treachery*: as. searwe 1348, AP. 13; ip. searwum 1396, searowum 745. *See gūð-searo.*
- searuðancol**, adj., *wise, clever*: npm. searupancle 1161.
- sec**, *see secg*.
- sēcan**, W1. 1. *visit, go to*: 3 pl. sēcāð 600; pret. 3 sg. sōhte 28, AP. 28; pret. 3 pl. sōhton 641, AP. 77; opt. 3 sg. pres. sēce 731; inf. 226, 308, 698, 809, 977, 1502, 1658, 1677, AP. 81. — 2. *search out, try to find, ask for*: 3 sg. sēceð 909, 1153; 1 pl. sēcaph 1568; opt. 2 sg. pres. sēce 320; inf. 943, 1539. *See gesēcan.*
- secg**, m., *man*: ns. sec 1225; np. secgas 1368; gp. secga 1636, 1656. *See gārsecg.*
- secgan**, W3. 1. *say, declare, tell, narrate*: 1 sg. secge 618; 2 pl. secgaph 345; 3 pl. secgað 681; pret. 3 sg. sægde 755, 1207, 1654, sæde 1022; pret. 3 pl. sægdon 1080; opt. pres. 3 sg. secge 733; imper. 2 sg. saga 557; ptc. nsm. secgende 949; ger. secganne 1481; inf. 458, 648, 764, 851. — 2. *give (thanks)*: pret. 3 sg. sægde 1469; inf. 1006. *See gesecgan.*
- secgplega**, m., *battle*: ds. secgplegan 1353.
- sefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 1251; ds. sefan 98, 1165, AP. 2. *See mōdsefa.*
- segl**, mn., *sail*: ds. segle 505.
- segl**, n. 1. *sun*: ns. 89, sægl 1456. — 2. *eye*: as. segl 50.
- sel**, *see sæl*.
- sēl**, adv., *better*: 745.
- sele**, m., *hall*: gs. seles 714; ds. sele 1311.
- seledrēam**, m., *festivity*: as. 1656.
- selerædend**, m., *hall-ruler, house-owner*: np. 659.
- sellan**, *see gesellan*.
- sēlost**, *see sēlra*.

**sēlra**, adj., comp. and sup. only, *better*: comp. nsm. sýlla 1509; nsn. sēltre 320, 1563; asm. sēlran 471; asn. sēltre 1353; sup. nsm. sēlost 329, 411; nsn. 1565.

**semninga**, adv., *suddenly*: 464, 820.

**sencan**, *see bisencan*.

**sendan**, W1, *send*: pret. 3 sg. sende 1613; pret. 3 pl. sendon 1028; inf. AP. 116. *See onsendan*.

**sēoc**, adj., *sad, troubled*: dsm. sēocum AP. 2. *See limsēoc*.

**seofon**, num. adj., *seven*: uninfl. 114, 1673; npm. seofone .994; gpm. seofona 1311.

**seolf**, *see sylf*.

**seolfor**, n., *silver*: as. 338.

**seolhpæð**, n., *ocean*: ap. seolhpaðu 1714.

**seomian**, W2, *remain, endure*: 3 sg. seomaþ AP. 121; inf. 183.

**sēon**, 5, *see, behold*: pret. 3 pl. sēgon 711, sāwon 1679. *See be-, gesēon*.

**seonodolg**, n., *sinew-wound*: np. 1406. *See synu*.

**sēoðan**, 2, lit. *boil, cook*, met. *afflict*: pp. soden 1239.

**sēowan**, W2, *sew, weave*: 3 pl. sēowað 64.

**seppan**, W1, *teach*: pret. 3 sg. septe 742.

**Seraphim**, pr. n., *Seraphim*: n. 719.

**sessian**, W2, *subside*: pret. 3 sg. sessade 453.

**set**, n., *setting*: ds. sete 1248, 1304. *See geset*.

**settan**, *see ā-, be-, gesettan*.

**sē ðe**, pron., *who, which*: nsm. 161, 254, 261, 519, 521, 535, 566, 1164, 1386, AP. 88, 97, 107; gsmn. þæs þe 344, 1266, 1479, þæs ðe 1012; dsm. þām þe 314, 638, 909, 980, 1154; asm. þone þe 747; np. ðā ðe 1194, þā ðe 282, 600, þā þe 130, 1370, 1445, ðā þe 579; gp. þāra þe 28, 379, 974, 1152.

**sīd**, adj., *extensive*: asn. sīde 762; npm. 652, 1067.

**sīde**, f., *side (of the body)*: ds. sīdan 968.

**sīde**, adv., *wide*: 1637.

**sigebrōðor**, m., *victorious brother*: as. 183.

**sigedēma**, m., *triumphant judge*: ns. 661.

**sigedryhten**, m., *Lord of victory*: ds. sigedryhtne 877; as. sigedryhten 60; vs. 1453.

**sigelēan**, n., *reward of victory*: as. AP. 81.

**Sigelware**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: dp. Sigelwarum AP. 64.

**sigerōf**, adj., *brave*: asm. sigerofne 1225.

**sigespēd**, f., *success, ability*: as. 646.

**sigetorht**, adj., *victorious*: nsm. 1246.

**sigewang**, m., *plain of victory*: ns. 1581.

**sigor**, m., *victory*: gs. sigores 760, AP. 62; is. sigore 116; gp. sigora 329, 714, 987, 1406.

**sigorspēd**, f., *prosperity, success*: ns. 909; as. 1435.

**Simon**, pr. n., *Simon*: ns. 691, AP. 77.

**sīn**, poss. pron., *his*: dsm. sīnum 1021; ds. 989; asm. sīnne 1464; asn. sīn AP. 59; npm. sīne 1515; gpm. sīnra 663, 713; dpf. sīnum 813; apm. sīne 427, 823, 847; ip. sīnum 522, 750.

**sinc**, *see fātedsinc*.

**sincgestrēon**, n., *treasure*: as. 1656.

**sincgifu**, f., *gift of treasure*: ds. sincgife 1509.

**sinchroden**, adj., *richly adorned*: apn. 1673.

**sincweorðung**, f., *costly gift, gift of treasure*: gp. sincweorðunga 272, 477.

**singal**, adj., *continuous, unending*: nsm. 869.

**singan**, 3, *sing, offer in song*: pret. 3 pl. sungon 877.

**sinnan**, 3, w. gen., *cease from, have relief from*: pret. 3 sg. sann 1277.



**sittan**, 5, *sit, sit down*: pret. 3 sg. sæt 305, 1007; pret. 3 pl. sæton 362, 591; inf. 247. *See be-, gesittan.*

**sittend**, *see burh-, hām-, ðrym-sittend.*

**sīð**, m. 1. *journey*: gs. sīðes 1041, AP. 34; ds. sīðe 795; as. sīð 44, 340, 515, 860, AP. 111; is. sīðe 175, 845, AP. 32. — 2. *time, occasion*: is. sīðe 706, 808, 1391, 1458, 1675, 1700; ip. sīðum 490, 605. — 3. *fate, experience*: ns. 155. *See earfoð-, ge-, wil-, wræcsið.*

**sīðfæt**, m., *journey, expedition*: ns. 420; gs. sīðfætes 204, 211; ds. sīðfæte 358, 1662, sīðfate 663.

**sīðfrom**, adj., *ready for the journey, expeditious*: npm. sīðfrome 641, AP. 77; apm. sīðfrome 247.

**sīðgēomor**, adj., *sad or weary from traveling*: nsm. AP. 1.

**sīðigean**, W2, *go, journey*: inf. 829.

**sīððan**, *see syððan.*

**slagu**, *see mānslagu.*

**slæp**, m., *sleep*: ns. 464, 820, 826, 862; ds. slæpe 795, 849; is. 1527.

**slæpan**, *see ofslæpan.*

**slāw**, *see unslāw.*

**slēan**, 6, *strike*: pret. 3 pl. slōgon 964; imper. 2 pl. slēað 1300.

**slege**, m., *blow*: as. 956. *See dolg-, gegn-, sārslege.*

**slūpan**, *see tōslūpan.*

**smeolt**, adj., *gentle, pleasant*: nsm. 1581; npn. smylte 453.

**smið**, *see gryn-, lār-, wrōhtsmið.*

**smylt**, *see smeolt.*

**snāw**, m., *snow*: ns. 1255.

**snel**, adj., *swift*: nsm. 505.

**snellīc**, adj., *swift*: nsm. 267.

**snēome**, adv., *quickly*: 795.

**snēowan**, W1, *hasten, proceed*: 3 sg. snōweð 504; inf. 242, 1668.

**snottor**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 469; npm. snottre 659. *See rædsnottor.*

**snōwan**, *see snēowan.*

**snūd**, n., *speed, swiftness*: is. snūde 267.

**snyttru**, f., *wisdom, sagacity*: as. snyttru 554, 1165; gp. snyttra 631; dp. snytrum 1153; ip. snyttrum 646.

**snyððan**, *see besnyððan.*

**somne**, *see ætsomne.*

**sōna**, adv., *immediately*: 72, 450, 529, 849, 999, 1334, 1535, 1567, 1579.

**sorg**, f., *care, sorrow*: ns. 1690; ds. sorge 1568; ip. sorgum 116.

**sorgbyrðen**, f., *burden of sorrow*: ns. sorgbyrþen 1532.

**sorgian**, W2, *regard, be solicitous*: pret. 3 pl. sorgodon 1227.

**sōð**, n., *truth*: ns. 526, AP. 64; ds. sōðe 114, 458, 618; as. sōð 603, 631, 644, 764, 851, 965, 1558, 1563.

**sōð**, adj., *true*: nsm. 1602; asm. sōðan AP. 81; gpn. sōðra 710.

**sōð**, adv., *in truth, in sooth*: 1435.

**sōðcwide**, m., *truthful speech*: ip. sōðcwidum 733.

**sōðfæst**, adj., *truthful, just*: nsm. 386; gsm. sōðfæstes 673; npm. sōðfæste 1514; gpm. sōðfæstra 228.

**sōðfæstlic**, adj., *truthful, sincere*: asn. 877.

**sōðlice**, adv., *truly*: 681.

**spanan**, R, *persuade, allure*: pret. 3 sg. spēon 597.

**spann**, *see gespann.*

**spannan**, *see onspannan.*

**spēd**, *see mægen-, sige-, sigor-, woruldspēd.*

**spēdan**, *see āspēdan.*

**spēdig**, *see wuldorspēdig.*

**spell**, n., *tale, narrative*: as. 815. *See fæc-, god-, lāðspell.*

**spildan**, W1, w. inst., *destroy*: opt. pres. 2 sg. spilde 284.

**spor**, n., *track, mark*: as. 1180.

**spōwan**, R, *succeed*: inf. 1544. *See gespōwan.*

**sprec**, spræc, *see edwitspræc, gesprec.*

- sprecan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 1 sg. spræc 904; pret. 3 sg. 1557; opt. pres. 3 sg. sprece 732; pp. sprečen 1622; inf. 1315. *See gesprecan.*
- springan**, 3, *extend, be diffused*: pret. 3 sg. sprang AP. 6. *See onspringan.*
- stæf**, *see endestæf.*
- stæfn**, *see brondstæfn.*
- stæfna**, *see stefna.*
- stān**, m., *stone*: ns. 738, 766, 1523; gs. stānes 741; ds. stane 738; as. stān 774, 841. *See marmanstān.*
- standan**, 6. 1. *stand*: 3 sg. standeþ AP. 98; 3 pl. standað 722; pret. 3 sg. stōd 254, 737; pret. 3 pl. stōdon 842, 871, 1157, 1712; opt. pres. 3 sg. stande 502; inf. 882, 993, 1062, 1448, 1494. — 2. *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. stōd 375. — 3. *last, endure*: 3 sg. standeð AP. 120. *See ā-, for-, ge-, wiðstandan.*
- stānfāg**, adj., *adorned with stones, paved*: npf. stānfāge 1236.
- stānhlið**, n., *stony slope, cliff*: ap. stānhleoðu 1577, stānhleoðo 1233.
- stapa**, *see hildstapa.*
- stæppan**, 6, *go, proceed*: pret. 3 sg. stōp 985, 1577. *See gestæppan.*
- stapul**, m., *column*: as. 1062; ap. stapulas 1494.
- stærcedferhð**, adj., *stout-hearted*: asm. stærcedferhþne 1233.
- stæð**, *see bord-, brimstæð.*
- staðol**, m., *base, pedestal*: ds. staþole 1503.
- staðolfæst**, adj., *established, firm*: nsm. 121, staðulfæst 1336.
- staðolian**, W2. 1. *confirm, make steadfast*: 1 sg. staþolige 82; imper. 2 sg. staðola 1210, 1213. — 2. *create, establish*: pret. 3 sg. staðolade 799. *See gestaðolian.*
- steald**, *see wuldorgesteald.*
- stealla**, *see gestealla.*
- stēap**, adj., *steep*: npm. stēape 840; apm. 1306.
- stede**, *see burh-, eolh-, folc-, meðel-, ðing-, wangstede.*
- stedewang**, m., *plain*: ds. stedewange 774; np. stedewangas 334.
- stefn**, m., *time*: is. stefne 123, 1303.
- stefn**, m., *prow*: ds. stefne 291. *See hēahstefn.*
- stefn**, f., *voice*: ns. 92, 167, 738, 1429; is. stefne 56, 61, 96, 537, 873, 1126, 1360, 1399, 1456; ip. stefnum 722, 1054.
- stefna**, m., *prow*: ds. stefnan 403; as. 1707, stæfnan 495.
- stellan**, *see onstellan.*
- stēman**, *see bestēman.*
- steng**, m., *stake, cudgel*: gs. stenges AP. 72.
- steora**, m., *steersman*: as. steoran 495.
- stēorend**, m., *pilot, guide*: ns. 1336, stýrend 121.
- sticce**, n., *piece, portion*: ip. sticcum 1448.
- stīg**, f., *path, way*: ns. 985; as. stīge 1442.
- stīgan**, 1, *ascend, mount*: pret. 2 pl. stigon 429; pret. 3 pl. 349. *See ā-, ge-, oferstīgan.*
- stillan**, W1. 1. *become quiet*: inf. 1576. — 2. w. dat., *make quiet*: pret. 3 sg. stilde 451. *See gestillan.*
- stille**, adj., *still, motionless*: nsm. 502.
- stiðferð**, adj., *firm of heart*: npm. stiðferðe 722.
- stiðhycgende**, adj., *resolute*: dp. stiðhycgendum 741, 1429.
- stiðmōd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. AP. 72.
- stōl**, *see cynestōl.*
- storm**, m., *storm*: ns. 502, 1236 (*figuratively*); is. storme 1494; ap. stormas 1576.
- stōw**, f., *place*: gp. stōwa 121.
- stræl**, m., *dart*: vs. 1189.
- strang**, adj., *hard, severe*: nsm. 313; asf. strangan 1336; dpm. strangum 1210; ipm. 162, 536; comp. nsm. strengra 1385.

- stranglice**, adv., *sternly*: 167.
- stræt**, f., *street*: ns. 1580; ds. stræte 774, 985, 1062; np. 1236; ap. 334. *See* **faroð-**, **herestræt**.
- strēam**, m., *stream, flood*: ns. 1280, 1523; as. 852, 1538; np. strēamas 374; ap. 1503. *See* **brim-**, **ēa-**, **ēagor-**, **firgend-**, **lagu-**, **mere-**, **sæstrēam**.
- strēamfaru**, f., *current*: as. strēamfare 1576.
- strēamracu**, f., *water-course*: as. strēamræce 1580.
- strēamwelm**, m., *billow*: ns. 495.
- streng**, m., *rope, cordage*: np. strengas 374.
- strēon**, *see* **gestrēon**.
- strēonan**, W1, w. gen., *win*: inf. 331.
- stund**, f., *time, hour*: ns. 1210.
- stunde**, adv., *straightway*: 416, 1497.
- stýran**, W1, *arrange*: pp. stýred 1092.
- stýrend**, *see* **stēorend**.
- styrian**, W2, *stir, be in commotion*: pret. 3 pl. styredon 374.
- sum**, pron., *one, certain one*: nsm. 11, 967, 1174, 1311; npm. sume AP. 11.
- sund**, n. 1. *course, sailing*: as. 381, 488. — 2. *ocean, flood*: ns. sund 424, 1528; as. 747.
- sund**, adj., *see* **onsund**.
- sundor**, adv., *apart, asunder*: 1161.
- sundrian**, *see* **āsundrian**.
- sunne**, f., *sun*: ns. 1248, 1304; ds. sunnan 1013.
- sunu**, m., *son*: ns. 879, 1684; ds. suna 681, 881; as. sunu 1109; np. suna 691.
- sūsl**, n., *torture*: is. sūsle 1379.
- swā**, adv. 1. *so, thus*: 157, 177, 438, 461, 524, 661, 692, 1053, 1137, 1149, 1245, 1323, 1328, 1343, 1344, 1393, 1455, 1562, 1670, AP. 113. — 2. *so, very*: 710, 895, 922, 1243.
- swā**, conj. 1. *as, according as*: 5, 67, 149, 269, 297, 304, 322, 345, 348, 357, 389, 418, 594, 622, 649, 786, 789, 845, 931, 949, 972, 1045, 1231, 1274, 1321, 1341, 1476, 1514, 1696, AP. 102. — 2. *inasmuch as, for*: 327, 937, 1115. — 3. *so that (result)*: 986. — 4. *as if*: 261, 501. — 5. *yet*: 493. — 6. *likewise*: 582, 1288. — 7. *where*: 1441, 1449, 1582. — 8. **swā . . . swā, as . . . as** (adv. and conj.): 192–193, 333, 926–927, 1234. *See* **swā ðeah**.
- swanrād**, f., *swan-road, ocean*: as. swanrāde 196.
- swaru, -swarian, -swerian**, *see* **ondswaru**, etc.
- swæs**, adj., *dear*: asm. swæsne 1009.
- swæsende**, n., *food, repast*: gp. swāsenda 386.
- swāt**, m., *blood*: ns. 1275, 1425, 1441; as. swāt 968; is. swāte 1239.
- swätig**, adj., *bloody*: npm. swätige 1406.
- swā ðeah**, conj., *yet, nevertheless*: 813, 1250.
- swaðrian**, *see* **sweðrian**.
- swaðu**, f., *path, track*: ds. swaðe 1422; as. 673, swæðe 1441.
- swebban**, *see* **āswebban**.
- swefan**, 5. 1. *sleep*: inf. 832, 849. — 2. *lie dead*: pret. 3 pl. swæfon 1002.
- swēg**, m., *tumult, noise*: ns. 93; as. 1532.
- swegeldrēam**, m., *heavenly joy*: dp. swegeldrēamum 720.
- swegeltorht**, adj., *radiant*: nsf. 1248.
- swegl**, n., *heaven*: gs. swegles 208, 455, 641, 760, 809, 832, 869; ds. swegle 98, 1009; as. swegl 749.
- swegle**, adj., *bright*: apm. AP. 32.
- swelc**, *see* **swyle**.
- swelgan**, 3, w. acc. and inst. 1. *accept, receive*: pret. 3 pl. swulgon 710. — 2. *flow over, swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. swealg 1276. *See* **forswelgan**.
- sweltan**, 3, *die*: pret. 3 pl. swulton 1530.
- swencan**, W1, *trouble*: inf. 109. *See* **geswencan**.

**sweng**, m., *stroke*: as. AP. 72. *See* heorusweng.

**sweorcan**, 3, *darken, become dim*: pret. 3 sg. *swearc* 372.

**sweord**, n., *sword*: gs. *sweordes* 1132, AP. 34; ip. *sweordum* 72.

**sweordræs**, m., *attack with the sword*: ns. AP. 59.

**sweotol**, adj., *clear, evident*: gpn. *sweotulra* 565; ipn. *sweotolum* 742.

**sweoðerian**, *see* **sweoðrian**.

**swēr**, m., *column*: ap. *swēras* 1493.

**sweoðrian**, W2. 1. *subside, become still*: pret. 3 sg. *swaðrode* 1585, *sweoðerade* 465; pret. 3 pl. *swæðorodon* 533. — 2. *vanish*: pret. 3 pl. *sweðerodon* 836.

**swīcan**, 1, w. dat., *desert*: 1 pl. *swīcað* 407; opt. pres. 2 sg. *swīce* 958. *See* **be-**, **geswīcan**.

**swīgian**, W2, *be silent*: pret. 3 pl. *swīgodon* 762.

**swilt**, *see* **swylt**.

**swing**, *see* **geswing**.

**swingan**, 3, *scourge, chastise, afflict*: pret. 3 pl. *swungon* 964; pp. *swungen* 1246, 1275.

**swið**, adj., *strong*: nsm. 1207, 1513.

**swiðan**, *see* **geswiðan**.

**swiðe**, adv., *very, exceedingly*: 423, 618, 926.

**swylc**, pron., *such*: nsm. *swelc* 25; nsn. *swylc* 29.

**swylce**, adv., *likewise, also, thus*: 166, 584, 589, 621, 704, 712, 881, 1029, 1036, 1257, 1687, AP. 16, 50.

**swylce**, conj. 1. *as if*: 247. — 2. *like as, as*: 89.

**swylt**, m., *death*: ns. 994; as. 1610, *swilt* 1348, AP. 71.

**swyltcwalu**, f., *death-torture*: ds. *swyltcwale* 156; as. 1368.

**syb**, f., *peace, good will*: ns. 1013, *sybb* 1568; as. *sybbe* 98, 358, 809, 832. *See* **brōðorsybb**.

**sýfre**, *see* **unsýfre**.

**-syhð**, *see* **gesyhð**.

**sylf**, pron., *self, himself*: nsm. 5, 248, 665, 845, 1509, *sylfa* 329, 433, 860, 1348, 1701, AP. 111, *seolfa* 340, 505; gsm. *sylfes* 651, 1109, 1417, *seolfes* 1300, 1441; dsm. *sylfum* 644, 648, 1662; asm. *seolfne* 921, *sylfne* 1212; npm. *sylfe* 1558; dpm. *sylfum* 949.

**sylfæta**, m., *cannibal*: np. *sylfætan* 175.

**sýlla**, *see* **sēlra**.

**syllan**, W1, *give, give over*: 1 sg. *sylle* 97; pret. 3 sg. *sealde* 577, 1513; inf. 272, 366, 477, 1109. *See* **gesellan**.

**syllic**, adj., *strange, wonderful*: comp. asm. *syllicran* 500.

**symboldæg**, m., *feast-day*: ds. *symboldæge* 1527.

**symbolgifa**, m., *entertainer, provider*: vs. 1417.

**symble**, adv., *always, ever*: 157, 659, 1384, 1581, *symle* 411, 651, 1153, *symles* 64.

**symle**, **symles**, *see* **symble**.

**sýn**, *see* **onsýn**.

**sýne**, *see* **ēag-**, **ge-**, **onsýne**.

**synfull**, adj., *sinful*: npm. *synfulle* 764; gpm. *synfulra* 987.

**synn**, f., *sin*: as. *synne* 926; dp. *synnum* 1243; ip. 407.

**synnig**, adj., *sinful*: nsm. 921; asm. *synnigne* 1300; npm. *synnige* 109, 565, 710, 964; gp. *synnigra* 956, 1610.

**synu**, f., *sineu*: ns. 1422; np. *sionwe* 1425.

**syrian**, W2, *plot, devise*: pret. 3 pl. *syredon* 610.

**syððan**, adv. 1. *time*

*that*: 5, 295,

1599, 1678,

240, 893, **syððan**

**þan** 1223, **seof**

**wards**: **syðð**

1704, **syðð**

111

8-

## T

**tācan**, *see* **getācan**.

**tācen**, n. 1. *sign*: ns. 88; as. 1338; gp. *tācna* 711; ip. *tācnum* 742. — 2. *mark, characteristic*: ns. 29. — 3. *covenant*: as. 214. *See* **wēatācen**.

**tācnian**, *see* **getācnian**.

**tāel**, f., *blame*: ds. *tāle* 633.

**taligan**, W2, *count, consider*: 1 sg. *talige* 1563, *telige* 1484.

**tælmēt**, n., *measure, portion*: ns. 113.

**tān**, m., *lot*: ns. 1103; as. *taan* 1099.

**teala**, adv., *well, thoroughly*: 1612.

**tēam**, *see* **heretēam**.

**tēar**, m., *tear*: ip. *tēarum* 59.

**teldan**, *see* **beteldan**.

**tellan**, 1, *count, calculate*: pret. 3 pl. *teledon* 1103. *See* **getellan**.

**tempel**, n., *temple*: ns. 667; ds. *temple* 707; as. *tempel* 1634. [Lat. *templum*.]

**tēon**, W2, *fashion, create*: pret. 3 sg. *tēode* 797. *See* **getēon**.

**tēon**, 2, *draw, drag*: inf. 1230.

**tēoncwīde**, m., *censure*: as. 633, 771.

**Thaddēus**, pr. n., *Thaddeus*: ns. AP. 77.

**Thōmas**, pr. n., *Thomas*: ns. AP. 50.

**tīd**, f., *time*: ds. *tīde* 113, 1407; as. *tīd* 214, 911, 1091, 1160.

**tigelfāg**, adj., *adorned with tiles*: npn. *tigelfāgan* 842. [Lat. *tegula*.]

**tihhian**, *see* **getihhian**.

**tilmōdig**, adj., *noble-minded*: npn. *tilmōdige* AP. 86.

**timbran**, *see* **getimbran**.

**tingan**, *see* **getingan**.

**tīr**, m., *glory*: gs. *tīres* 105; as. *tīr* 485, AP. 86.

**tīrēadig**, adj., *glorious*: npn. *tīrēadige* 665, AP. 4; apm. 2, 883; gpm. *tīrēadigra* 1681.

**tō**, prep. w. gen. and dat. 1. w. gen. in phrases *tō ðæs*, *tō ðæs ðe*, *there, where*: 1059, 1070, 1123. — 2. w. dat., *to, towards, unto, into, upon*: 40, 47, 81, 90, 113, 119, 236, 287, 294, 398, 483,

598, 622, 658, 666, 778, 808, 828, 909, 918, 969, 974, 1027, 1068, 1098, 1118, 1152, 1186, 1188, 1196, 1203, 1205, 1248, 1250, 1270, 1304, 1307, 1311, 1351, 1398, 1410, 1423, 1460, 1568, 1682, 1683, 1693, 1698, 1707, AP. 43, 115. — 3. *as, for, in*: w. dat. 27, 76, 106 (*tō wīdan fēore* = *forever*), 111 (2), 132, 136, 153 (2), 160, 234, 311, 313, 324, 342, 458, 567 (2), 588, 606, 618, 794, 795, 810, 938, 1039, 1081, 1101, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1123, 1161, 1162, 1284, 1369, 1452, 1507, 1605, 1641, 1721, AP. 62, 74, 95. — 4. *on, at*: w. dat. 221, 1539. — 5. *of, from*: w. dat. 449. — 6. *according to*: w. dat. 653, 796. — 7. w. inf. 1160, 1481, 1659, 1689; w. ger. 23, 73, 206, 295, 424, 1136.

**tō**, adv. 1. *too*: 98, 212, 612, 1301, 1432, 1609. — 2. *there, thither*: 711, 1234, 1348.

**Tobias**, pr. n., *Tobias*: ns. 1516.

**tōbregdan**, 4. 1. *tear, rend*: pret. 3 pl. *tōbrugdon* 159. — 2. *shake off* (w. inst.): pret. 3 pl. *tōbrugdon* 1527.

**tōdælan**, W1, *portion out*: inf. 152.

**tōdrīfan**, 1, *scatter, dispel, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. *tōdrāf* 1688; pp. npn. *tōdrifene* 1426.

**toga**, *see* **foletoga**.

**tōgadore**, adv., *together*: 1438.

**tōgēnes**, prep. w. dat., *towards, in the direction of*: 45, 657.

**tōgēnes**, adv., *towards*: 1101.

**tōgīnan**, 1, *separate, split*: pret. 3 sg. *tōgān* 1523.

**tōglīdan**, 1, *glide away, disappear*: 3 sg. *tōglīdeð* AP. 102; pret. 3 sg. *tōglād* 123.

**tōhlīdan**, 1, *open up*: pret. 3 sg. *tōhlād* 1587.

**tōhrēosan**, 2, *perish, pass away*: inf. AP. 101.

**tohte**, f., *battle, conflict*: gs. *tohtan* AP. 75.

tōlūcan, *v.*, *dislocate, pull apart*: pp. tōlocen 1404.  
 tōlŷsan, W1, *separate*: inf. 151.  
 torht, *adj.*, *bright, glorious*: nsm. 105; nsn. 1612; npn. torhte AP. 4. See heofon-, morgen-, sigel-, swegel-, wuldortorht.  
 torhte, *adv.*, *brightly*: 715.  
 torhtlice, *adv.*, *gloriously*: 1681.  
 torngenīōla, *m.*, *fierce enemy*: np. torngenīōlan 1230.  
 torr, *m.*, *tower*: np. torras 842. [Lat. *turris*.]  
 tōslūpan, *v.*, *relax, destroy*: pp. tōslopan 1425.  
 tōsomne, *adv.*, *together*: 33, 1093.  
 tō ōas, tō ōas ōe, *see* tō.  
 træf, *n.*, *tent, building*: np. trafu 842. See helltræf.  
 trahtian, *see* getrahtian.  
 tredan, *v.*, *traverse*: inf. 775, 802.  
 trēowe, *adj.*, *faithful*: asn. 214. See getrēowe.  
 trēowgeōfta, *m.*, *trusty comrade*: np. trēowgeōftan 1050.  
 trum, *adj.*, *sound, whole*: nsm. 1477. See getrum.  
 trymman, W1, *encourage, cheer*: pret. 3 sg. trymede 463, 1051, 1681; inf. 428, 1419.  
 tū, *see* twēgen.  
 tungol, *n.*, *star*: dp. tunglum 2.  
 twēgen, *num.*, *two*: nm. 689, AP. 75; dm. twām 249, 589, twām 779; af. twā 715; an. tū 1035, 1050.  
 twelf, *num.*, *twelve*: nm. twelfe AP. 4, XII AP. 86; am. twelfe 2, 883, 1419.  
 twelfta, *num.*, *twelfth*: nsm. 665.  
 twēntig, *num.*, *twenty*: ns. 114.  
 twēogan, *v.*, *doubt*: ptc. nsn. twēogende 771.  
 twēonde, *see* untwēonde.  
 twēonum, *see* betwēonum.  
 tyddre, *see* untyddre.  
 tyn, *num.*, *ten*: dn. 1512.  
 tŷnan, *see* ontŷnan.

tŷr, *see* tŷr.  
 tyrgan, W1, *tease, torment*: pret. 3 pl. tyrgdon 963.

## D

ðā, *adv.*, *then, thereupon*: 92, 122, 143, 147, etc., þā 40, 45, 59, 118, etc. See nū ðā.  
 ðā, *conj.*, *when*: 626, 1177, 1409, þā 385, 429, 899, 1319, 1419, AP. 82.  
 ðafigan, W2, *agree, consent*: inf. 402.  
 ðā gēn, *adv.*, *again, a second time*: 601, þā gēn 727.  
 ðā gīt, *adv.* 1. *yet, as yet*: þā gīt 15, þā gīt 380. — 2. *still*: 632, þā gīt 51. — 3. *further, moreover*: þā gīt 383, þā gīt 1039, ðā gīt 1195.  
 ðan, *see* ær þan, forðan.  
 ðanc, *m.* 1. *thought*: gs. þances 557; as. þanc 1622. — 2. *thanks*: ns. ðanc 1451, þanc 1150; ds. tō þance (*gladly, thankfully*) 1112; as. þanc 384, 1469. See fore-, ge-, hyge-, inge-, inwit-, searuðanc.  
 ðancelan, W2, *trans.*, *thank*: pret. 3 sg. þancade 1011.  
 ðancul, *see* ge-, hyge-, searuðancul.  
 ðanon, *adj.*, *thence*: þanon 1065, AP. 31, 38, þonon AP. 61.  
 ðær, *adv.*, *there, in that place*: 183, 244, 562, 875, 1007, 1080, 1296, 1547, þær 21, 41, 48, 90, 181, 199, 263, 279, 280, 445, 654, 662, 770, 869, 878, 887, 888, 907, 979, 1001, 1037, 1039, 1049, 1083, 1153, 1192, 1222, 1225, 1349, 1382, 1534, 1542, 1554, 1555, 1569, 1571, 1588, 1591, 1625, 1647, 1701, 1708, AP. 52, 60, 98.  
 ðær, *conj.* 1. *where*: 217, 657, þær 15, 105, 168, 175, 228, 294, 305, 502, 598, 607, 667, 695, 711, 790, 940, 1379, 1634, 1684, 1685, AP. 10, 118, 119. — 2. *whence*: 224, 935, 1403. — 3. *there*: 963, 967.  
 ðæs, *adv.*, *at*.  
 ðæs, *conj.*, *as*.

- ƿæs ƿe**, conj., *as, because*: ƿæs ƿe 472, 1012, 1151, ƿæs ƿe 1563.
- ƿæt**, conj. 1. *that*, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): 85, 207, 308, 319, 403, 485, 610, 618, 928, 1329, 1617, ƿæt 26, 30, 71, 91, 159, 178, 273, 276, 284, 319, 321, 378, 430, 434, 438, 459, 499, 511, 527, 530, 534, 550, 559, 563, 574, 618, 661, 673, 681, 700, 757, 765, 766, 844, 852, 894, 898, 922, 928, 933, 962, 1073, 1080, 1121, 1137, 1167, 1267, 1285, 1289, 1344, 1416, 1420, 1437 (2), 1485, 1505, 1517, 1559, 1564, 1606, 1653, 1655, 1660, 1690, AP. 43, 64, 70, 89, 108. — 2. *that, so that*, in result clauses: ƿæt 731, ƿæt 37, 261, 303, 603, 707, 737, 788, 916, 958, 1327, 1373, AP. 56. — 3. *that, in order that*, in purpose clauses: ƿæt 1333, ƿæt 368, 860, 1183, 1214, 1357, AP. 117. — 4. *when, where*, in temporal clauses: ƿæt 108, 115, 150, 185, 1211, 1523, 1697. — 5. *that*, with ellipsis of principal sentence: ƿæt 203. *See oƿƿæt.*
- ƿætte**, conj., *such that*: 546.
- ƿæt ƿe**, conj., *that*: ƿæt ƿe 1602.
- ƿe**, indecl. particle. 1. *who, which, that*: 815, ƿe 101, 164, 263, 718, 799, 828, 886, 890, 945, 1130, 1318, 1440, 1486, 1548, 1615. — 2. *than*: 1040. *See sē, ƿæs, ƿæt, ƿeah ƿe.*
- ƿeah**, conj., *though, although*: 1217, ƿeah 476, 710, 975, 1243, 1628, ƿeh 271, 507, 515, 630, 856, 955, ƿeh 900. *See swā ƿeah.*
- ƿeah ƿe**, conj., *although*: ƿeah ƿe 53, 564, ƿeh ƿe 1609.
- ƿearf**, f. 1. *need, necessity*: ns. ƿearf 1166, 1605. — 2. *advantage, benefit*: ds. ƿearfe 1652.
- ƿearfende**, *see mete-, wineƿearfende.*
- ƿearl**, adj., *severe, excessive*: gpn. ƿearlra 1598.
- ƿearle**, adv., *severely, excessively*: ƿearle 1115.
- ƿearlic**, adj., *severe*: nsn. ƿearlic 1136.
- ƿēaw**, m., *custom, habit*: ns. ƿēaw 25, 177; ds. ƿēawum 462.
- ƿeccan**, W1, *cover*: pret. 3 sg. ƿehte 966, AP. 22; pret. 3 pl. ƿehton 1525. *See beƿeccan.*
- ƿegn**, m., *servant, retainer, disciple*: ns. ƿegn 384, 417, ƿegen 528; as. ƿegn 1391, 1678; vs. 557; np. ƿegnas 43, 237, 323, 344, 363, 376, 391, 402, 726, 872, 1026, AP. 87; gp. ƿegna 696, AP. 8; dp. ƿegnum 1329; ap. ƿegnas 3, 245, 462. *See duru-, ombeht-, maguƿegn.*
- ƿegnian**, W2, *serve*: pret. 3 pl. ƿegno-don 884.
- ƿegu**, *see beor-, foddor-, willƿegu.*
- ƿēh**, *see ƿeah.*
- ƿel**, *see wægƿel.*
- ƿencan**, W1, *resolve, consider*: 2 sg. ƿencest 212; pret. 3 pl. ƿōhton 150, 693.
- ƿenden**, conj., *while, as long as*: ƿendon 1397, ƿendon 1713, ƿenden 1288, ƿyn-den 1323.
- ƿēod**, f., *people, nation*: ns. ƿēod 1098, 1112; ds. ƿēode 185, 571; as. 25, 1185; gp. ƿēoda 107, 547, 1451, ƿēoda 1622; dp. ƿēodum 520, 1605, 1652. *See ell-, werƿēod.*
- ƿēodan**, *see oƿƿēodan.*
- ƿēodbealo**, n., *great evil*: as. ƿēodbealo 1136.
- ƿēodcynig**, m., *king of the people*: gs. ƿēodcyniges AP. 18.
- ƿēoden**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. ƿēoden 290, 323, 364, 415, 696, 773; gs. ƿēodnes 3, 94, AP. 8; ds. ƿēodne 1007; as. ƿēoden 872, 900; vs. 288, 479; np. ƿēodnas 363.
- ƿēodenhold**, adj., *loyal to the prince, submissive*: nsm. ƿēodenhold 384.
- ƿēodig**, *see ellƿēodig.*
- ƿēodōm**, m., *service*: as. ƿēodōm AP. 105.
- ƿēodsceaða**, m., *enemy of the people*: ns. 1115.

**ðeon**, *see* **geðeon**.

**ðea**, pron., *this*: nsm. þēs 420, 496; nsf. ðeos 1437, þeos 731, 1428; nsn. ðis 717, þis 751, 1506, ðys 492; gsm. þisses AP. 108, þysse AP. 89; dsmn. ðyssum 1198, þissum 77, 550, þyssum 112, 358; dsf. þysse 684, 973, þisse AP. 112; asm. ðisne 1604, þysne AP. 1; asf. þās 111, 207, 914, AP. 98; gp. þissa 268, 386; dp. þyssum 88, 100, 761, 1026; apn. þās AP. 49, 83.

**ðiegan**, 5. 1. *receive*: pret. 3 pl. þēgon 1112. — 2. *receive food, eat*: pret. 3 pl. ðēgon 25, þēgon 593.

**ðin**, pron., *thy, thine*: nsm. þin 70, 194, 541, 542, 604, 940, 952, 1023, 1317, 1321, 1441; gsm. þines 65, 1417; gsn. 1383; dsm. þinum 959, 1503; asm. þinne 183, 213, 479, 1209, 1213, 1216, 1316; asf. þine 288, 548, 635, 1190, 1384, 1424; asn. þin 216, 954, 1295, 1418; isn. þine 284; npm. þine 399; gp. þinra 482; dp. þinum 1285, 1289, 1292; ap. þine 421.

**ðing**, n., *meeting*: as. þing 157, 930. *See* **geðing**, **gūðgeðingu**.

**ðinggemearc**, n., *appointed time*: gs. þinggemearces 148.

**ðingian**, *see* **wiððingian**.

**ðingstede**, m., *council-place*: ds. þingstede 1098.

**ðingu**, *see* **gūðgeðingu**.

**ðisa**, *see* **brimþisa**.

**-ðofta**, *see* **geðofta**.

**-ðoht**, *see* **geðoht**.

**ðolian**, W2, *endure*: pres. opt. 2 sg. ðolie 955, þolige 1217; inf. þolian 1414. *See* **geðolian**.

**ðonne**, adv., *then*: 655, AP. 103, þonne 152, 347, 399, 1309, AP. 88, 307.

**ðonne**, conj. 1. *when*: þonne 4, 9, 142, 252, 409, 412, 512, 891, 1500, AP. 92. — 2. *than*: þonne 924, 1089, 1178, 1428, 1484, 1519, AP. 49.

**-ðrac**, *see* **geðrac**.

**-ðracu**, *see* **holmðracu**.

**ðræg**, f., *time*: ns. þräh 107; gs. ðräge 1598; as. þräge 790, AP. 30.

**ðrægmælum**, adv., *from time to time*: 1230.

**ðrēa**, f., *trouble, affliction*: ns. þrēa 1166; as. 107.

**ðrēagan**, W1, *cast down, scourge, subdue*: pret. 3 sg. þrēade 452, 1687; pp. npm. geþrēade 391.

**ðrēanēd**, f., *affliction, suffering*: dp. þrēanēdum 1264.

**ðrēat**, n., *host, multitude*: ns. þrēat 870, 1095, 1269; as. 1608; is. þrēate 1636; gp. þrēata 376.

**ðrēatian**, W2, *scourge, control*: 3 sg. þrēatað 520. *See* **geðrēatian**.

**ðreodlan**, W2, *hesitate, fear*: pret. 3 sg. þreodode AP. 18.

**ðrida**, adj., *third*: asm. þridan 793; ism. 1391.

**ðriness**, f., *the Trinity*: gs. þrinnesse 1685.

**ðring**, *see* **geðring**.

**ðringan**, 3, *crowd, throng*: pret. 3 pl. þrungon 126, 1203. *See* **æt-**, **ge-**, **ingeðringan**.

**ðrist**, **ðriste**, adj., *bold*: nsm. þrist 1139, 1264, þriste 237.

**ðriste**, adv., *boldly*: þriste 1652, AP. 50.

**ðristlice**, adv., *boldly, rashly*: 1185.

**ðriðig**, num., *thirty*: 157.

**ðrothheard**, adj. 1. *strong to endure, patient*: nsm. þrothheard 1264; asm. þrothheardne 1391, npm. þrothhearde 402. — 2. *grievous, hard to endure*: nsm. þrothheard 1139.

**ðrōwian**, W2, *suffer, endure*: 3 pl. þrōwiað 281; pret. 3 sg. þrōwode 1610, AP. 21; pret. 2 pl. þrōwodon 414, 431; inf. þrōwian 1468, þrōwian 137.

**ðrȳ**, n., *straw*: 801; 185; am.



**Þrym**, n. 1. *glory, majesty*: ns. þrym 3, 887, AP. 8; ds. þrymme 1685; as. þrym 344, 723, 998. — 2. *multitude, power, strength*: ns. þrym 1260, 1536, 1572; ds. þrymme AP. 18; as. þrym 957. See *cyne-*, *heofon-*, *hilde-*, *wuldorþrym*.

**Þrymfæst**, adj., *strong, glorious*: nsm. þrymfæst 323, vsm. 479.

**Þrymfull**, adj., *illustrious*: np. þrymfulle 363.

**Þrymlic**, adj., *glorious*: ap. þrymlice 245.

**Þrymlice**, adv., *gloriously*: 547.

**Þrymma**, m., *strong man, warrior*: np. þrymman 1139.

**Þrymsittende**, adj., *dwelling in glory*: gsm. þrymsittendes 417, 528; np. þrymsittende 884.

**Þryð**, f., *strength, power*: ip. þryðum 376, 1148.

**Þryðbearn**, n., *glorious son*: as. þryðbearn 494.

**Þryðcýning**, m., *king of glory*: as. þryðcýning 436.

**Þryðfull**, adj., *glorious, powerful*: dpm. þryðfullum 1329.

**Þryðweorc**, n., *glorious work*: as. þryðweorc 773.

**Þū**, pron., *thou*: ns. 73, 85, 98, 105, etc.; þū 68, 283, 943, 1187, etc.; for gs. see **Þin**; ds. ðē 275, 386, 483, 618, etc.; þē 81, 83, 97, 102, etc.; as. ðē 112, 292, 534, 633, etc.; þē 99, 100, 101, 108, etc.; np. gē 256, 295, 337, 344, 345, 346, 348, 429(2), 430, 676, 744, 746, 1179, 1183, 1197, 1333, 1558, 1609, 1612; dp. ēow 297, 338, 346, 458, 758, 851, 970, 1176, 1343, 1344, 1611; ap. ēow 336, 347, 884, ēowic 259, 882.

**Þurfan**, PP, *need*: 2 pl. þurfan 337. See *beþurfan*.

**Þurh**, prep. w. acc. 1. *through, by, because of, in accordance with (condition and agency)*: þurh 66, 315, 633, AP.

34, 68, 80, þurh 34, 79, 109, 187, 218, 436, 525, 585, 597, 611, 631, 635, 642, 651, 670, 688, 699, 725, 771, 827, 912, 941, 965, 971, 975, 1000, 1092, 1294, 1336, 1348, 1418, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1475, 1476, 1520, 1530, 1532, 1552, 1580, 1586, 1616, 1629, 1635, 1651, 1692, AP. 26, 29, 39, 53, 56, 60, 67, þurg AP. 13, 63, þurg AP. 72. — 2. *through, out of (place)*: þurh 739, 1276, 1279.

**Þurhdrifan**, 1, *pierce through*: pp. þurhdrifen 1397.

**Þus**, adv., *thus*: 1411, AP. 85, þus 62, 173, 354, 539, 686, 818, 1716.

**Þūsend**, num., *thousand*: ap. þūsend 591.

**Þūsendmælum**, adv., *in thousands*: þūsendmælum 872.

**Þyder**, adv., *thither*: þyder 282.

**Þy læs**, conj., *lest, that not*: þy læs 77, 1147, þē læs 1047.

**Þyldig**, see *geþyldig*.

**Þýn**, 1, *suppress*: 3 sg. þýð 520. See *geþýn*.

**Þyncan**, W1, *seem*: 3 sg. þinceð 609, þynceð 472; pret. 3 sg. þūhte 740, 1135; pret. 3 pl. þūhton 440.

**Þynden**, see *þenden*.

**Þyssa**, see *mereþyssa*.

## U

**U** = *rune* ∩ AP. 101; for meaning, see *Notes*.

**ūhta**, m., *dawn*: ds. ūhtan 235, 1388.

**unbræce**, adj., *imperishable*: asm. unbræcne AP. 86.

**uncūð**, adj., *unknown, strange*: asn. AP. 93; np. AP. 112; gp. uncūðra 178.

**under**, prep., *under, beneath, in*: w. dat. 2, 93, 98, 505, 512, 545, 837, 1009, 1204, 1402, 1493; w. acc. 128, 208, 455, 1305, 1457, 1595, 1600; case indeterminate 46, 95, 141, 144, 420, 832, 940, 1005, 1013, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253.

**undyrne**, adj., *manifest, famous*: nsf.

AP. 42; asf. 1480.

**unēaðe**, adj., *difficult*: nsn. 205.

**unforcūð**, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm.

1263; vsm. 475.

**unfyrn**, adv., *soon*: 1371.

**unhēore**, adj., *harmful, murderous*:  
asm. unhēorne 34.

**unhwīlen**, adj., *eternal*: asf. 1154;  
asn. AP. 20, 120.

**unhȳðig**, adj., *wretched*: npm. unhȳ-  
ðige 1078.

**unlæd**, adj., *wretched, wicked*: np. un-  
læde 744; gp. unlædra 30, 142.

**unlȳtel**, adj., *not little, great*: nsm.  
1237; nsf. 1270; nsn. AP. 8; asn.  
876; apm. unlȳtle 1493.

**unmæte**, adj., *very great*: nsn. 1219;  
asn. 653, 1682.

**unnan**, PP, w. gen., *grant*: inf. 146,  
298. See **geunnan**.

**unriht**, n., *wrong*: ds. unrihte 1559.

**unrīm**, n., *great number*: as. 704.

**unsællig**, adj., *unhappy, ill-fated*: npm.  
unsælige 561.

**unscyldig**, adj., *guiltless, innocent*:  
nsm. 1137.

**unslāw**, adj., *not slow, hastening*: asm.  
unslāwne 1711.

**unsȳfre**, adj., *dirty*: asn. 1310.

**untwēonde**, adj., *not doubting, unhesi-  
tating*: asn. 1242.

**untȳddre**, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1252.

**unweaxen**, adj., *not fully grown, young*:  
npm. unweaxne 1627.

**ūp**, adv., *up, above*: 792, upp 443, 979,  
1125, 1236, 1303, 1318, 1625.

**ūpengel**, m., *heavenly angel*: gp. ūp-  
engla 226.

**ūpgemynd**, n., *thought of heaven*: as.  
1064.

**ūpheofon**, m., *heaven above*: as. 798.

**ūplīc**, adj., *upper, celestial*: dsn. ūplīcan  
1119.

**uppe**, adv., *above, on high*: 749.

**ūpweg**, m., *ascent*: as. 830.

**ūre**, see **ūser**.

**ūser**, pron., *our*: nsn. ūre 454; asm.  
ūserne 340, 397, 860; asf. ūsse AP.  
116; gpn. ūssa 1319.

**ūt**, adv., *out, forth*: 15, 968, 1221, 1272,  
1279, 1390, 1523, 1537, 1577.

**ūtan**, adv., *outside, from without*: 28,  
871.

**utan**, interj., *let us*: 1356, utu AP. 115.

**ūðweota**, m., *wise man, sage*: ns. 1105.

## W

**W** = *rune* Þ AP. 100; for meaning, see  
*Notes*.

**wāc**, adj., *weak, yielding*: nsm. 212.

**wacan**, see **onwacan**.

**wæd**, n., *wave, flood*: np. wædu 533,  
wadu 1545; gp. wæda 439; ap. waðu  
1457.

**wæd**, f., *sail*: np. wædo 375.

**wadan**, 6, *traverse, go*: 2 pl. wadað 677;  
inf. 1271. See **ge-**, **onwadan**.

**wāg**, m., *wall*: ds. wāge 714, 732. See  
**sælwāg**.

**wæg**, m., *wave*: ns. 533; gs. wæges  
632, wēges 601; as. wēg 1532; is.  
wāge 1594; np. wægās 373, 1545;  
gp. wēga 932; ap. wægās 456, 748,  
1589, wēgas 198.

**wægan**, see **āwægan**.

**wægfaru**, f., *sea-way, ocean*: ds. wæg-  
fære 923.

**wægflota**, m., *ship*: ds. wægflota  
487.

**wægðel**, n., *ship*: ds. wægðel

**wælan**, see **bewælan**.

**walca**, m., *wave*: np.

**waldend**, see **wealde**

**wælgīfre**, adj., *eager*

372; nsf. 1271.

**wælgrædig**

npm. wa

**wælgrīm**,

1415.

**wælm**, see **v**

**wælrēaf**, n.

**wælrēow**, adj., *murderous*: nsm. AP. 69; npm. wælrēowe 1211.

**wælwang**, m., *field of battle*: ds. welwange 1226.

**wælwulf**, m., *warrior*: np. wælwulfas 149.

**wana**, indecl. adj., *lacking, minus, less*: 1040.

**wang**, m., *plain, field*: ds. wonge 22; as. wang 839. *See* beadu-, dēað-, meotud-, neorxna-, sæl-, sige-, stede-, wælwang.

**wangstede**, m., *place*: ds. 988.

**wanhāl**, adj., *sick*: np. wanhāle 580.

**wann**, adj., *dark*: nsm. 1169; npn. wonn 837. *See* brūnwann.

**wansælig**, adj., *unblest*: npm. wansælige 963.

**wāpen**, n., *weapon*: gs. wāpnes 1180; ap. wāpen 1145; gp. wāpna 71; dp. wāpnum 1291; ip. 1069, AP. 69.

**wāpenhete**, m., *armed hostility, battle*: as. AP. 80.

**wær**, n., *sea*: is. wære 269, 487.

**wær**, f. 1. *faith*: as. wære 213. — 2. *protection*: as. wære 824; is. 535, 988. *See* freoðuwær.

**wārfæst**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 416, 1310; asm. wārfæstne 1273.

**wārlēas**, adj., *faithless*: gp. wārlēasra 1069.

**wārloga**, m., *traitor*: ns. 1297; ds. wārlogan 613; np. 71, 108.

**waroð**, m., *shore*: ds. waroðe 263, waruðe 236, 240; gp. waroða 306.

**waroðfaroð**, m., *surf*: gp. waroðfaruða 197.

**-waru**, *see* burgwaru, ceaster-, eorð-, Sigelware.

**waruðgewinn**, n., *surf*: as. 439.

**wætan**, *see* gewætan.

**wæter**, n., *water*: ns. 333; gs. wæteres 22, 452, 1260, 1536; ds. wætere 587, wættre 953; as. wæter 201, 222, 253, 1507; np. 1553, 1572.

**wæterbrōga**, m., *water-terror*: as. wæterbrōgan 197, 456.

**wæteregesa**, m., *water-terror*: ns. 435, wæteregsa 375.

**wæterflōd**, m., *flood*: np. wæterflōdas 503.

**wāð**, f., *going, journey*: ds. wāðe 593.

**waðu**, *see* wæd.

**waðuma**, m., *flood*: gs. waðuman 1280.

**wēa**, m., *woe, lamentation*: is. wēan 675.

**-wealc**, *see* gewealc.

**weald**, conj., with hū, *however*: 1355.

**-weald**, *see* ge-, æhtgeweald.

**wealda**, *see* ealwealda.

**wealdan**, R, w. gen., *rule*: 3 sg. wealdeð 1603, 1685. *See* gewealdan.

**wealdend**, m., *ruler, Lord*: ns. 225, 248, 325, 604, 799, waldend 388, 702, 855; gs. wealdendes 576; as. waldend 213, 539, 1056; vs. 193, 920, 1451.

**weall**, m., *wall*: ds. wealle 726, 736, 1492; np. weallas 843; ap. 1553. *See* burhweall.

**weallan**, R. 1. *flow, well out, flow forth*: 3 pl. weallað 1405; pret. 3 sg. wēoll 1240, 1275, 1280, 1546; ptc. nsn. weallende 1574; inf. 1503. — 2. *be agitated, excited*: pret. 3 sg. wēoll 769; ptc. nsm. weallende 1709. *See* āweallan.

**weallgeat**, n., *wall-gate*: dp. weallgeatum 1203.

**weard**, m., *ward, guardian*: ns. 227, 596, 601, 632, 987; as. 52, 56; vs. 82, 1406. *See* burh-, helm-, herig-, lid-, scipweard.

**-weard**, *see* and-, innanweard.

**weardigan**, W2, *guard, inhabit*: 3 pl. weardigað 176; inf. 599.

**wēatācen**, n., *sign of grief*: ns. 1119.

**weaxan**, 6, *grow, increase*: pret. 3 sg. wēox 568, 1536, 1677; pret. 3 pl. wēoxon 373, 1545.

**weaxen**, *see* unweaxen.

**webbian**, W2, *weave*: pret. 3 sg. web-  
bade 672.

**weccean**, W1, *awaken*: inf. 850. *See*  
**āweccan**.

**wecgan**, *see* **āweccan**.

**wedd**, n., *promise*: is. wedde 1631.

**weder**, n. 1. *sky*: gs. wederes 837. —  
2. *air, breeze*: np. 1256.

**wederburg**, f., *pleasant city*: as.  
1697.

**wedercandel**, f., *light of heaven, sun*:  
ns. 372.

**weg**, m., *way, road*: as. 170, 191, 252,  
1173, 1680, AP. 31; np. wegas 1234;  
gp. wega 65. *See* **bæð-**, **feor-**, **fold-**,  
**grund-**, **holm-**, **ūpweg**.

**wegan**, f., *bear, endure, experience*:  
pret. 3 pl. wēgan AP. 87.

**wel**, adj., *well*: 212, well 885.

**wela**, m., *riches, prosperity*: gs. welan  
1159; as. 302, 318; ip. welum 755.  
*See* **æht-**, **ār-**, **bold-**, **ēad-**, **lifwela**.

**wellan**, *see* **āwellan**.

**welm**, *see* **wylm**.

**welwang**, *see* **wælwang**.

**wēman**, W1. 1. *sound, be heard*: pret.  
3 sg. wēnde 740. — 2. *proclaim, an-  
nounce*: pret. 1 sg. wēnde 1480.

**wemman**, *see* **gewemmed**.

**wēn**, f., *hope, expectation*: ns. 1074;  
dp. wēnum 1087.

**-wēna**, *see* **orwēna**.

**wēnan**, W1, w. gen., *expect*: pret. 3 sg.  
wēnde 377; pret. 3 pl. wēndan 1072,  
1597.

**wendan**, W1, *change, turn*: inf. 587.  
*See* **onwenden**.

**-wende**, *see* **lēofwende**.

**wenian**, W1, *direct, guide*: pret. 3 sg.  
wenede 1682.

**weorc**, n. 1. *work, fabric*: as. 799. —  
2. *occupation*: is. weorce 1365. —  
3. *pain, affliction*: ns. 1659; gs.  
weorces 1277; as. weorc AP. 80.  
*See* **ellen-**, **frum-**, **fyrn-**, **go-**, **gūð-**,  
**ūryð-**, **wundorweorc**.

**weorm**, m., *worm*: ns. 769; dp. weor-  
mum AP. 95.

**weorn**, *see* **worn**.

**weorod**, n., *host, throng*: ns. weorud  
761, werod 1219; gs. weorodes 1039,  
1271, 1592; ds. weorode 1659; as.  
weorod 1046, 1682; is. weorode 1706,  
weorude 1390; np. werod 1069; gp.  
weoroda 870, 1206, 1415, weoruda  
62, 173, 388, 435, 727, 1282, 1663;  
dp. weorodum 564, 736, AP. 55,  
weorudum AP. 61.

**weorp**, *see* **ge-**, **wintergeweorp**.

**weorpan**, *see* **ymbweorpan**.

**weorðan**, 3. 1. *be, become*: 2 sg. wyr-  
ðest 483; 3 sg. weorðeð 1383, wyrðeð  
219, 972; pret. 2 sg. wurde 1408;  
pret. 3 sg. wearð 90, 92, 350, 369,  
467, 524, 566, 770, 910, 960, 1085,  
1090, 1106, 1149, 1386, 1529, 1550,  
1569, 1595, 1702, AP. 42, 52, 64, 82;  
pret. 3 pl. wurdon 376, 447, 453, 1339,  
1583; opt. pres. 2 sg. weorðe 276;  
opt. pres. 3 sg. wyrðe 208; opt. pret.  
3 sg. wurde 156, 1066, 1228, 1423;  
opt. pret. 3 pl. wurdan 1619; imper.  
2 sg. weorð 902; inf. weorðan 137,  
211, 758, 890, 953, weorþan 204, 948,  
wyrðan 215, 437, wyrþan 182. —  
2. *be fall, happen*: pret. 3 sg. wearð  
1343, 1526, AP. 78. *See* **geweorðan**.

**weorðian**, W2, *honor*: pret. 2 sg.  
wyrðodest 551; pret. 3 sg. weorðode  
755, weorðade 1268, wyrðode 55,  
wyrðude 538; pret. 3 pl. weorðodon  
806, weorðadon 1055, weorðedon  
1715; inf. AP. 48. *See* **geweorðian**.

**weorðung**, *see* **dōm-**, **sineweorðung**.

**weota**, *see* **wita**.

**wēpan**, R. 1. *cry*: pret. 3  
sg. wēop 1402, wēp 59. — 2. *be weep*:  
2 sg. wēp 1431. — 3. *weep*:  
wer, m., *man*: weres AP. 27;  
np. weras 963, 1357.

- wera** 35, 135, 620, 650, 705, 730, 787, 1145, 1155, 1200, 1507, 1554, 1597; dp. *werum* 22, 153, 558, AP. 106; ap. *weras* 428.
- wergan**, *see* **āwergan**.
- werian**, W1, *ward off, defend*: pret. 3 sg. *werede* 743, 1053.
- wērig**, adj. 1. *weary, wretched*: nsn. 1278; npm. *wērige* 580, 593; dpm. *wēregum* 59. — 2. *evil, cursed*: gs. *wēriges* 1169; np. *wērige* 615; dp. *wērigum* 86, 615. *See* **lid-**, **sāwērig**.
- wērigferð**, adj., *sad at heart*: nsm. 1400.
- wērigmōd**, adj., *weary in spirit*: nsm. 1366.
- werðeod**, f., *people, nation*: gs. *werðeode* 855; ds. *werþeode* 137, 573; ap. *werþeoda* 543, AP. 15.
- wesan**, anv., *be, exist*: 1 sg. *eom* 636, *bēo* 72; 2 sg. *eart* 505, 527, 1188, 1291, 1508; 3 sg. *is* 102, 113, 120, 177, 313, 324, 393, 394, 420, 422, 424, 492, 496, 501, 526, 542, 544, 549, 682, 717, 719, 724, 751, 758, 906, 907, 940, 951, 979, 1165, 1166, 1173, 1199, 1317, 1372, 1425, 1427, 1434, 1481, 1489, 1562, 1563, 1565, 1602, 1605, 1611, 1664, 1717, 1718, 1722, AP. 14, 118; (w. neg.) *nis* 107, 205, 1210, 1432; *bið* 185, 275, 320, 637, 885, 889, 935, 1056, 1153, 1384, 1567, 1693, AP. 113; 1 pl. *synd* 323; *syndon* 264; *bīoð* 408; 2 pl. *sint* 348; *synd* 744; *syndon* 344, 676; 3 pl. *sint* 1404, 1425; *synt* 198, 391; *synd* 1365; *sindon* 201, 1369, AP. 112; *syndon* 686, 689, 720, 973; pret. 1 sg. *wæs* 64, 489, 949; pret. 2 sg. *wære* 898; pret. 3 sg. *wæs* 11, 19, 25, 29, 36, 40, 41, 57, 122, 147, 158, 161, 169, 230, 231, 232, 239, 248, 262, 385, 594, 665, 667, 684, 700, 854, 869, 874, 878, 887, 892, 967, 981, 1010, 1013, 1018, 1097, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1119, 1138, 1155, 1201, 1223, 1225, 1238, 1242, 1245, 1250, 1251, 1253, 1274, 1302, 1307, 1322, 1382, 1394, 1395, 1476, 1532, 1534, 1537, 1542, 1547, 1554, 1571, 1573, 1579, 1581 (2), 1584, 1622, 1627, 1643, 1659, 1689, 1708, AP. 25, 37, 41, 48, 57, 66, 106; (w. neg.) *næs* 21, 380, 662, 888, 1113, 1162, 1471, 1522, AP. 33; pret. 3 pl. *wæron* 7, 46, 250, 579, 791, 1016, 1041, 1114, 1259, 1334, 1695, AP. 4; (w. neg.) *næron* AP. 75; opt. 2 sg. *sīe* 417; opt. 3 sg. 70, 1439, 1451, AP. 107; opt. 3 pl. *sīen* 734; pret. opt. 3 sg. *wære* 563, 765, 799, 1178; imp. 2 sg. *bēo* 98, 214; *wes* 540, 914, 959; imp. 2 pl. *bēoð* 1609.
- wēste**, adj., *desolate*: asn. 1159.
- wēstenn**, n., *desert*: ds. *wēstenne* 699.
- wex**, n., *wax*: ds. *wexe* 1145.
- wīc**, fn., *habitation*: as. 131, 1310; np. AP. 112. *See* **eardwīc**.
- wīcg**, n., *horse*: dp. *wicgum* 1095.
- wīd**, adj. 1. *broad, wide*: asm. *wīdne* 283. — 2. *w. feorh, ealdor, = forever*: dsn. *wīdan* 106, 810, 938, 1452, 1721; asn. 1383.
- wīde**, adv., *widely, far and wide*: 333, 576, 1119, 1234, 1554, 1637, AP. 2, 6, 15, 42.
- wīdfæðme**, adj., *broad-bosomed*: nsm. 533; asn. 240.
- wīdfērende**, adj., *far-traveling*: np. 279.
- wīdland**, n., *earth, broad earth*: as. 198.
- wīdlāst**, m., *far journey*: ap. *wīdlāstas* 677.
- wīdrynig**, adj., *far-flowing*: asn. 1507.
- wīf**, n., *woman*: np. 1666; gp. *wīfa* 1039, 1597.
- wīg**, m., *idol*: as. AP. 48.
- wīg**, n., *war, battle*: gs. *wīges* 839, 1183, 1226, 1355, AP. 74.
- wīga**, m., *warrior*: as. *wīgan* 1711.
- wīgend**, m., *warrior*: np. 1053, 1203; gp. *wīgendra* 506, 887, 896, 1450, 1572, 1608, 1672, *wīgendra* 1095; ap. *wīgend* 850, 1297.

**wiht**, fn., *ought*: is. *wihte* 1522, 1661.  
See *eall-*, *ōwiht*.

**willa**, m., *will, desire*: ns. 70; gs. *willan* 65, 106; ds. 1401, 1641; as. 304, 356; ip. *willum* (*blissfully*) 810.  
**willan**, anv., *will, wish, desire*: 1 sg. *wille* 84, 347, 458, 474, 648, 1412; 2 sg. *wilt* 288; 1 pl. *willað* 292; 3 pl. 178, 298; pret. 1 sg. *wolde* 271, 478, 483, 970; pret. 2 sg. *woldest* 203, *woldes* 308; pret. 3 sg. *wolde* 146, 894, 1109, 1130, 1655, 1658, 1660, 1699, *Ap.* 47; pret. 1 pl. *woldon* 1424; pret. 3 pl. 129, 402, 803, 1072, 1141, 1392, 1460, 1538, 1639; opt. 2 sg. *wille* 75, 342, 1286.

**willgedryht**, f., *faithful band*: as. 914.  
**willgeofa**, m., *gracious dispenser*: as. *wilgeofan* 62; vs. *willgeofa* 1282.

**wilnian**, W2, w. gen., *desire*: 2 sg. *wilnast* 283; pret. 3 sg. *wilnode* 918; pret. 3 pl. *wilnedon* 448; inf. 1128.

**wilsīð**, m., *pleasant journey*: as. 1046.

**wilðegu**, f., *desired feast*: ds. *wilþege* 153.

**wīn**, n., *wine*: as. 587. [Lat. *vinum*.]

**wīnburg**, f., *city of festivity*: as. 1637; ds. *wīnbyrig* 1672.

**wind**, m., *wind*: ns. 269, 503; np. *windas* 373; ap. 452, 456.

**windan**, 3, *wind, gyrate*: pret. 3 sg. *wand* 372. See *be-*, *onwindan*.

**windig**, adj., *windy*: np. *windige* 843.

**wine**, m., *friend*: as. 1464; vs. 307, 1431; np. *winas* 198.

**winedryhten**, m., *friendly lord*: as. 919.

**wineðearfende**, adj., *in need of a friend*: nsm. *wineþearfende* 300.

**winn**, see *ge-*, *gārge-*, *gūðge-*, *hand-gewinn*.

**-winna**, see *gewinna*.

**winnan**, 3, *endure, suffer*: pret. 2 sg. *wunne* 1380.

**wīnraed**, n., *wine-hall*: as. 1159.

**winter**, m., *winter, i.e. year*: dp. *wintrum* 506.

**winterceald**, adj., *wintry cold*: asf. *wintercealdan* 1265.

**wintergeworp**, n., *winter storm*: ip. *wintergeworpum* 1256.

**wir**, m., *wire, bracelet*: gp. *wīra* 302.

**wīs**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 316, 470, 919, 1497, *wīsa* 843; asm. 552; vsm. *wīs* 624; comp. asm. *wīsan* 474.

**wīsdōm**, m., *wisdom*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. *wīsdōmes* 645; as. *wīsdōm* 650.

**wīsfæst**, adj., *wise*: asm. *wīsfæstne* 1648; gp. *wīsfæstra* 1167.

**wīslan**, W2. 1. trans. w. acc. and dat., *guide, direct*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 381, *Ap.* 9; opt. 2 sg. *wīsig* 488; inf. 1099. — 2. intrans., *lead or indicate the way*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 985.

**wīslīc**, adj., *wise*: as. 509.

**wīst**, f., *food*: ns. 21; ds. *wīste* 153; as. 302, 312, 318, 593, 1074, *wīst* 388. See *ondwīst*.

**wīt**, see *edwītspræc*, *ge-*, *inwīt*.

**wīta**, see *fyrnwīta*, *ūðweota*.

**wītan**, PP, *know*: 1 sg. *wāt* 183, 199, 433, 498, 814, 904, 941; 2 sg. *wāst* 932, *wāst* 1186, 1282; pret. 3 sg. *wīste* 261; opt. 1 sg. *wīte* 603; opt. 3 sg. 546; w. neg., 1 sg. *nāt* *Ap.* 111; 2 pl. *nyton* 745; pret. 3 pl. *nyston* 1088.

**wītan**, see *ge-*, *ōðwītan*.

**wīte**, n., *punishment, torture*: ns. 889; np. *wītu* 1365; gp. *wīta* 1470, 1490, 1618; dp. *wītum* 1299; ap. *wītu* 1052, 1415, 1611; ip. *wītum* 580, 1211, 1361, 1631.

**wītebend**, mf., *torture-bonds*: ip. *wītebendum* 108, 1561.

**wītlan**, W2, *order, appoint, decree*: pp. *wītod* 889, *weotod* 951, *weotud* 1366, asf. *weotude* 1074.

**wītlīg**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 743.

**wītiga**, m., *prophet*: np. *wītigan* 801.

**wīð**, prep. w. dat. and acc. \* dat., \* acc. 425, 560, 739. \* positive.

299. — 3. w. dat., *from* (separation): AP. 37, 83. — 4. w. dat., *from* (source): 275. — 5. w. acc., *to, towards*: 213, 389(?), 921, 1188, 1387, 1495.
- wiðerfeohtend**, m., *enemy*: as. 1183.
- wiðerhycgende**, adj., *hostile, opposing*: nsm. 1172; npm. 1072.
- wiðerhydig**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 675.
- wiðermēde**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. wiðermēda 1195.
- wiðstandan**, 6, w. dat. *oppose, defeat*: pret. 3 sg. wiðstōd 167.
- wiððingian**, W2, w. dat., *talk with, bargain with*: pret. 3 sg. wiðþingode 263, 306, 632.
- wlite**, m., *appearance, beauty*: ns. 1471. *See mægwlite.*
- wlitelēas**, adj., *ugly*: ns. 1169.
- wlitig**, adj., *fair, beautiful*: nsm. 870; nsf. 732, wlitige (weak) 1437; npm. wlitige 363.
- wlitige**, adv., *fairly, beautifully*: 716, 1721.
- wlitigian**, *see gewlitigian.*
- wlōh**, f., *fringe*: ns. 1471.
- wolcen**, n., *cloud, sky*: dp. wolcnum 93, 837; ip. 1046.
- wōma**, m., *tumult, terror*: as. wōman 1355. *See dægred-, hildewōma.*
- wong**, *see wang.*
- wōp**, m., *lamentation, weeping*: ns. 1155, 1554, 1666; gs. wōpes 1278.
- word**, n., *word, speech*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. wordes 261, 474, 1648; as. word 416, 650, 732, 801, 855, 896, 1172, 1299, 1358, 1361, 1381, 1400, 1418, 1430, 1497, 1663, AP. 53; is. worde 193, 210, 304, 418, 584, 716, 727, 743, 778, 850, 913, 1019, 1206, 1280, 1450; gp. worda 509, 904, 923, 1439; dp. wordum 88, 761, 1026, 1167, 1219, 1512, AP. 106; ip. 13, 55, 62, 173, 300, 354, 428, 539, 596, 624, 630, 740, 755, 806, 812, 919, 963, 1053, 1195, 1200, 1268, 1464, 1480, 1510, 1608. *See hosp-, husc-, lēoðword.*
- wordcwide**, m., *speech*: dp. wordcwidum 552, 1447.
- wordhlēoðor**, n., *speech, speaking*: ns. 708; gs. wordhlēoðres 93.
- wordhord**, n., *treasury of words*: as. 316, 601.
- wordlatu**, f., *delay in obeying*: ns. 1522.
- wordlaðu**, f., *speech, eloquence*: as. wordlæðe 635.
- wordloca**, m., *treasury of words*: as. wordlocan 470.
- worn**, m., *multitude, number*: as. 812, 904, weorn 677; gp. weorna 1490.
- worp**, *see wintergeworp.*
- woruld**, f. 1. *world, earth*: ds. worulde 304, 356, 948, AP. 112; as. woruld 576. — 2. *mankind*: ds. worulde 509. — 3. *in woruld worulda = forever*: as., gp. 1686.
- woruldspēd**, f., *worldly prosperity*: as. woruldspēde 318.
- woruldwunigende**, adj., *dwelling on earth*: np. AP. 100.
- wōð**, f., *sound, voice, song*: as. wōðe 675.
- wræc**, n., *exile, misery*: gs. wræces 1383; as. wræc 1380.
- wræcsīð**, m., *exile, misery*: ns. 889; as. 1358, 1431.
- wracu**, f., *punishment*: as. wræce 615.
- wrāsen**, *see fetor-, inwitwrāsen.*
- wrætlic**, adj. 1. *skillful, beautiful*: asf. wrætlice 712. — 2. *wondrous*: nsm. wrætlic 740; nsf. 93; ipn. wrætlicum 630, 1200.
- wrāð**, adj., *angry*: nsm. 1297; dsm. wrāðum 613; gp. wrāðra 1273, 1317.
- wrecan**, 5. 1. *avenge*: inf. 1180. — 2. *utter, send forth*: pp. wrecen 1548. *See bewrecan.*
- wreðlian**, W1, *support*: pret. 3 sg. wreðede 523.
- wrīdian**, W2, *grow, flourish*: 3 sg. wrīdað 635; pret. 3 sg. wrīdode 767.

**writan**, 1, *write*: pret. 3 sg. **wrāt** 1510; inf. 13. See **āwritan**.

**wrōht**, f., *blame, calumny*: as. 672.

**wrōhtsmið**, m., *evil-doer*: dp. **wrōhtsmiðum** 86.

**wudubāt**, m., *wooden ship*: ds. **wudubāte** 905.

**wuldor**, n., *glory, heavenly glory, heaven*: ns. 171, 555, 854, 1317, 1452, 1463; gs. **wuldres** 55, 70, 88, 193, 210, 354, 535, 539, 596, 708, 726, 758, 806, 870, 887, 913, 1026, 1056, 1268, 1380, 1510, 1611, 1631, 1661, 1678, 1715, AP. 27, 48, 61, 87, **wuldras** 523; ds. **wuldre** 356, 948, 1682, 1721; is. 543, 669, 1618; vs. **wuldor** 1411, **wuldur** 899.

**wuldorcynning**, m., *king of glory*: gs. **wuldorcyninges** 418, 801, 1430, 1447; as. **wuldorcining** AP. 74.

**wuldorgesteald**, n., *heavenly habitation*: gp. **wuldorgestealda** 1686.

**wuldorgifu**, f., *glorious gift*: ip. **wuldorgifum** 938.

**wuldorspēdig**, adj., *glorious*: apm. **wuldorspēdige** 428.

**wuldortorht**, adj., *gloriously bright*: nsn. 1457.

**wuldorðrym**, m., *heavenly glory*: gs. **wuldorðrymmes** 325, 702.

**wulf**, see **wælwulf**.

**wund**, f., *wound*: ns. 1473; dp. **wundum** 953, 1278.

**wund**, adj., *wounded, crippled*: nsm. AP. 61; npm. **wunde** 407.

**wundor**, n., *wonder, miracle*: ns. 736; ds. **wundre** 620; as. **wundor** 620, 730; gp. **wundra** 564, 569, 584, 699, 812; dp. **wundrum** = adv. *wondrous* 1492, 1497; ap. **wundor** 604, 712.

**wundorcræft**, m., *wondrous power*: is. **wundorcræfte** 13, 645, AP

**wundorweorc**, n., *mir-*  
**dorworca** 705.

**wunian**, W2. 1. 1  
3 pl. **wunedor**

1672; inf. 1310, 1697. — 2. *support, stand by*: 1 sg. **wunige** 99, 1218. — 3. *remain, stand, abide*: 3 pl. **wuniað** 101; pret. 3 sg. **wunode** 163, 1262; pret. 3 pl. **wunedon** 868, 1158; opt. pres. 3 sg. **wunige** 945; inf. **wunigean** 802, AP. 95. See **gewunian**.

**wunigende**, see **woruldwunigende**.

**wunn**, see **wynn**.

**wurd**, see **wyrd**.

**wylm**, m., *surge, billow*: as. 367, 863; dp. **wælmum** 452. See **flōd-**, **heaðo-**, **strēamwylm**.

**wynn**, f. 1. *joy*: ns. 887, 1113, 1162; ip. **wynnum** 635, **winum** 1019. — 2. *choice, best* (w. gen. pl.): ns. 1223; as. **wunn** 1713.

**wyrcean**, W1, *make, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. **worhte** 523, 1479. See **gewyrcean**.

**wyrd**, f. 1. *fate*: ns. 613, 1561. — 2. *event, happening*: ns. 758, **wurd** AP. 42; as. **wyrd** 1480; gp. **wyrda** 630, 1056. See **forwyrd**.

**wyrht**, see **gewyrht**.

**wyrhta**, m., *Creator*: ns. 325, 702. See **gewyrhta**.

**wyrresta**, see **yfel**.

**wyrðian**, see **weorðian**.

**wyrðmynd**, fn., *honor*: ip. **wyrðmyndum** 905.

## Y

**Y** = *rune* 𐌺 AP. 103; for meaning, see *Notes*.

**yfel**, n., *evil*: ns. 695; gs. **yfles** 1382; gp. **yfela** 1312.

**yfel**, adj., *bad, evil*: sup. asm. **wyrrestan** 86; sup. npm. 1592.

**ylde**, mpl., *men*: gp. **ylda** 182, 1555.

**ylding**, f., *delay*: ns. 215.

**ymb**, prep. w. acc. 1. *round, about*: 1222, 1247, **ymbe** 841, 871, 1577.

2. *every* (temporal): 1117.

3. pret. 3 sg.



**ymbweorpan**, 3, *surround*: pret. 3 pl.  
ymbwurpon 1553.

**yppan**, *see* geyppan.

**yppe**, adj., *manifest, revealed*: nsn. Ap.  
64.

**yrnðu**, f., *distress, affliction*: as. 1384,  
yrnðo 1190, ernðu 1162; gp. yrnþa  
970; dp. yrnðum 163.

**yrre**, adj., *angry*: asm. yrne Ap. 68;  
npm. eorre 47, 1076.

**yst**, f., *tempest*: ns. 1586.

**yð**, f., *wave*: ns. 443; as. yðe 1591;  
gp. yða 259, 352, 368, 466, 823, 863;

dp. yðum 451, 514, 1713; ap. yða 519;  
ip. yðum 1240, 1275, 1546. *See* arýð.

**yðbord**, n., *ship*: as. 298.

**yðfaru**, f., *flood*: ds. yðfare 900.

**yðfynde**, adj., *easy to find*: nsn. 1547.

**yðlād**, f., *ocean*: ds. yðlāde 499.

**yðlid**, n., *ship*: ds. yðlide 278; as. yðlid  
445.

**ywan**, W1, *show*: pp. ywed 972. *See*  
æt-, oðywan.











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